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## ASTERIS AND DULICHIMUM

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In *Harvard Studies*, XXXVI, Mr. Brewster has published a further statement on the Ithakan question. Much of it is directed against Dörpfeld's well-known Leukas-Ithaka theory, but on one point, the identification of Homer's Asteris as the island between Leukas and Thiaki now known as Arkoudi, he agrees with the originator of the controversy, and this requires that he establish two new propositions. One is that traffic from the Peloponnesus to Ithaka and the West went east of Thiaki instead of up the Ithaka Channel, and the other that Leukas is not, as Dörpfeld holds, Ithaka, or, as others believe, Dulichium, but the Homeric Samé. The paper ends with a criticism of my remarks in *Classical Philology*, XIX, 297 ff., but his three essays are so packed with argumentation that a reply in full detail is out of the question. I shall group my further comments under a few main heads, and shall endeavor to include everything of importance, while avoiding mere repetition of argument.

### ARKOUDI—ASTERIS

Arkoudi was brought into the controversy by Dörpfeld, but it is essential also to Mr. Brewster's new Leukas-Samé theory. I begin with its claim as based on the possession of havens which its rival Daskalio in the Ithaka Channel cannot show. In regard to this the defenders of the tradition have always maintained, not only that no one can prove that such havens did not exist on Daskalio in Homer's time, but also that there is reason to believe that they did. And in addition they

have contended, on the photographs—the most readily accessible is the one in Seymour's *Life in the Homeric Age*—on the evidence of Paulatos, on the inspection by Professor Manly under the guidance of Dörpfeld himself, and on the very faint praise with which Dr. Leaf greeted them, that these Arkoudi beaches are not havens at all.

Mr. Brewster now publishes a map of Arkoudi made by von Marées, an active participator in the controversy on the side of Dörpfeld, and thinks that it settles the haven question. I cannot agree. The beach to the left in the photographs is not in any sense a haven, and they must be correct in this respect. Moreover, comparing the outline of Arkoudi in this new map with the smaller outline in the official map, "carte marine" (opposite p. 418, Vol. II) of Bérard, I find no correspondence whatever. The coast of Leukas in the map Bérard gives must be accurately drawn, for it corresponds closely with the same coast in the map (after Partsch) of Leukas in the beginning of Goessler's *Leukas-Ithaka*. Whence then this divergence in regard to Arkoudi? I cannot explain it, but until it is explained, there is no change in the situation.

But to the above has of course to be added that just as Homer could, in the exercise of his right as a poet, which all admit, improve on the then existing havens of Daskalio for his purpose, or even create them, or, as Bérard thinks, transfer them from the adjoining mainland, so he might embellish in regard to the beaches on either side of the spit in Arkoudi. On this point therefore honors are easy.

The possibility deducible from the havens that Arkoudi may be Asteris is, however, of little avail against the considerations which prove that it cannot be. Every one of them is good evidence; in the sum, I submit, they are fatal. The first of those which it is necessary to recall is the case for the equation Krokyleia-Arkoudi. I gave my grounds in *Classical Philology*, XIX, 312 f. Mr. Brewster has, I fear, not read them carefully, for he says (XXXVI, 89)<sup>1</sup> that my suggestion was "quite unacceptable" to "the only expert cited," and so treats it as a mere "possibility." But he will see that it was not submitted to any expert, but only my question whether the word Krokyleia could have changed in the course of time into the word Arkoudi.

<sup>1</sup> This and similar references are to the three volumes of the *Harvard Studies* containing Mr. Brewster's papers.

My other grounds are not noticed. They are excellent support for Daskalio, and evidence of a kind wanting for Arkoudi. In fact, if Arkoudi be not Krokyleia, it is unknown to Homer and *λίην νόνημος*, and that, be it observed, although it is to Mr. Brewster a very important Achaean station. It is very strange, as I said before, that if described at all in Homer, that is, as Asteris, it should be in terms that are almost contemptuous.

But there is another proof of the kind that is wanting for Arkoudi; Daskalio in later times bore the name Asteria (*Classical Philology*, XIX, 314, and authorities quoted). Mr. Brewster allows this to be "competent," but says it is not "conclusive." Of course not; I am not so fond of that word in Homeric discussions. But it is good evidence, so good that all he can urge against it is the "possibility" that, just as Leukas lost its Homeric name, so may the name Asteris have suffered and become Arkoudi. I admit the competence of the observation, but its evidential value is of the smallest, and it misses the point, which is that an islet, corresponding to Homer's description of his Asteris, was found just in the position suggested to old geographers by the Homeric narrative, and still bearing what was practically the same name, and one which in its applicability to Daskalio has been explained for us by Paulatos.

These two names are enough to shake the Arkoudi case, but there is more. In the first place, how came the Wooers to go so far afield, and how came they to pass by a spot much nearer home which was the most perfect place imaginable for their purpose, the bay now called Apháles, in the north of Thiaki? It is flanked by two promontories, and round the eastern one, now Marmaka, Telemachus was, *ex hypothesi*, bound to come. All they would have to do there was to watch the point and pounce on him when he appeared. Nothing could be simpler. Instead we are asked to believe that they went twice the distance to an island where their chances of effecting their object were enormously lessened. One has only to state the case to show its unlikelihood, and I am curious to see what possibilities can be urged against it.

But still further, and still more damaging to the Arkoudi view, Mr. Brewster stations warships there to protect the traffic along his eastern route against "robbery," in other words against piracy. And

here we have a company of men bent on piracy and murder on the high seas, who select as the place for their ambushade, in preference to a perfectly secluded one much nearer home, the very spot at which a naval force was stationed to prevent such crimes. Is that credible? I suppose I shall be answered with yet another possibility, that the Wooers, *capables de tout* as we know, had "squared" the Commodore of the Squadron, perhaps even lulled his suspicions *μελιηδέϊ ὄλωφ*, and I shall have again to admit the possibility in reduction of the force of my argument.

On the point of visibility from Daskalio all has been said that can be said. I observe that in XXXI, 144, Mr. Brewster says "the whole course of the channel was visible from it. The boat of Telemachus must have been easily seen for a number of miles." But on page 59 of his present paper, after a careful calculation in feet, he adds, "you simply cannot tell one boat from another at even less than a mile." The statements may be reconcilable, but this calculation of heights and distances seems rather a severe method of treating the facts in an old epic story. It surely savours of the *Masstab einer wissenschaftlich genauer Ortsbeschreibung* of which Drerup (*Hom. Poetik*, I, 198) disapproves.

#### THE EASTERN ROUTE

Homer's Asteris lies between Ithaka and Samé. To Dörpfeld, Leukas is Ithaka and Thiaki is Samé, and Asteris is Arkoudi, lying between his Ithaka and his Samé. To Mr. Brewster Thiaki is Ithaka, so Leukas must be Samé. That identification will be separately considered, but meantime, as Asteris is the place at which in the *Odyssey* the Wooers watch for a voyager from the Peloponnesus to Polis—the capital town of Ithaka and situated on its western shore—readers of his papers must wonder what Telemachus would be doing at Arkoudi beyond the north of Thiaki, instead of sailing up the western side of the channel between Thiaki and Cefalonia. I say readers must wonder, because I feel sure it has never occurred to anyone before that Telemachus would make, and be expected by the Wooers to make, such a roundabout voyage.

This is a real difficulty, and it is one from which Mr. Brewster labors hard to extricate himself. He complains that I hardly discuss "the evidence," but it is not easy to follow the proof, or to discover



what it is precisely that he seeks to prove, whether it is that the course from the Peloponnesus to Polis was, as a regular practice, to the east of Thiaki, or that it was only generally or occasionally so. What we want of course is a demonstration that it was so as a regular thing, for the Wooers are never doubting Telemachus will pass Asteris. But there was more certainty on the point in their minds than there appears to be in Mr. Brewster's, for while on XXXVI, 66, his new route is "the only route Homer knew," it is on other pages (73 and 74) only probable, or quite as probable as the direct route. But then again, on the basis of the chart the latter is admitted (XXXI, 136) to be more probable and (XXXVI, 76) "probable enough, perhaps," but it is added (p. 81) that that is not conclusive. Of course not conclusive, but surely an *a priori* consideration so strong that it will need very good evidence to convert us to the new view.

In considering the evidence submitted I will deal first with the particular voyage which furnishes practically all the evidence on the point to be found in Homer. It was arranged for Telemachus by Athené, and as we read her instructions we are met with a prime difficulty on Mr. Brewster's new view. If he was correct, then all that the goddess had to say to her protégé was, "of course you are going by the route everybody takes, past Arkoudi, but unfortunately it is barred by the Wooers. So you must instead land in the south of your island home, especially as I want you to go to Eumaeus." Not another word was necessary. But she adds the further, and on Mr. Brewster's view absolutely unnecessary, instruction to keep away from the islands, that is, the two she has just mentioned, Ithaka and Samé. On the Daskalio-Asteris view there is nothing strange in that, for between the two islands runs the *πορθμός* where, as she says, the Wooers are. In fact it is interpreted for us by the poet, not explicitly stated in the manner of a modern historian, when he says Telemachus made for the Pointed Isles or Echinades, whence he cut across to the south end of Thiaki and so avoided the danger against which Athené had warned him. Mr. Brewster makes a difficulty for himself when he says (XXXVI, 59) it is a physical impossibility to keep away from an island and at the same time land on it. One must concur, but you can keep away from an island at first and then make for it, and that is just what the narrative shows that Telemachus did. Mr. Brewster cannot under-

stand (XXXVI, 82) this steering for the Echinades to begin with, but surely the injunction to keep away from Ithaka and Samé explains that. He goes on to say, "it could not be to avoid the Wooers, because it was pitch dark, and they could not have seen him." How can he possibly know it was pitch dark, and, if it was, how came the Wooers to cruise about at night looking for Telemachus? The explanation is futile; the simple and sufficient one is that the youth made the *détour* to avoid the mouth of the *πορθμός* against which Athené had cautioned him. Had the poet foreseen how his story was to be treated in these days, the instructions of Athené would doubtless have been too minute for critics to cavil at. But it is now known that the poet had his own ways of telling his story and that these can be discovered, and it is no longer the fashion to discredit a passage because it does not conform to modern ideas of literary composition. An interesting essay could be written on this very passage—the opening of the fifteenth book of the *Odyssey*—and the views thereon of exponents of Odyssean theories. Dörpfeld follows a number of them in abolishing it altogether!

For evidence of his new route Mr. Brewster depends on the "prevailing winds" as described in the *Mediterranean Pilot*, but assumes the season was *summer*, in disregard of Professor Scott's demonstration in *Classical Philology*, XI, 148 ff., to which I referred him, that it was autumn. Again Bérard, depending on the *Instructions Nautiques*, finds no difficulty about the channel route. Which are we to follow? I prefer Bérard, for I cannot see that Mr. Brewster's evidence leads him to conclusions of any value. On XXXVI, 81 all he says is that the seamen of Homer's time would find it "easier" to take the eastern course. The channel route was thus not impossible, and of course it was much shorter. Again, it was only "possible" for ancient ships to sail, "at least at times" from the Echinades to Arkoudi (XXXIII, 68). That does not take us far. And again, they could not sail from those islands to the south end of Thiaki, because the night breeze from the land does not reach more than 20 miles, and the distance across to Thiaki is 19. The breeze, therefore, would not continue strong quite the whole way! There is not much in that either. But what are we driving at? Are we seeking to interpret an old story of a voyage, remembering that it is poetry, and poetry in which Mr. Brewster admits there is fiction; or only endeavoring to show, on our

superior present-day knowledge of the Mediterranean, how the poet flouts the meteorology and navigation of his time? Does the poet pretend to give every detail of the voyage? If not, we are fighting a phantom. When I ask whether to Homer's readers or hearers Athené's promise, *o* 34, and her action in fulfilment of it, *o* 292, would not be enough to explain anything that might not completely agree with their personal experience of the winds and seas of Western Greece, Mr. Brewster demurs (XXXVI, 82) that the question is not what course Telemachus took, but what he would be expected to take. I demur in turn. The former is the whole question, and not what he must have done on a new view of the route, and it is just the consistency of the details of the voyage which the poet has chosen to give that is Mr. Brewster's difficulty.

I have striven to understand Mr. Brewster's argument, but I wonder if I have succeeded when I consider, map in hand, what we are asked to believe. It is in effect that the preferable route from Cape Trepito in the Peloponnesus to Polis in the Ithaka Channel was not northwest (roughly) all the way past the south shore of Cefalonia and up the channel, but due north to the Echinades, then northwest to Arkoudi, then along the northern shore of Thiaki, and then down to Polis. It is startling to the ordinary non-nautical man, and he is not surprised that recourse is had to squalls. When I point out that another authority has enlarged on the danger from squalls in the sea to the east of Thiaki, the reply is that they are worse in the vicinity of mountains. No doubt, but then what part of the seas we are concerned with is free from this danger? And even a landsman may suggest that mountains, if they generate squalls, are also protective of shipping. I referred to the Euripus and Dr. Leaf's description, for the purpose of a theory, of its dangers as almost prohibitive of navigation, and am told in reply that it is not in point, because traffic had to brave its dangers to avoid going outside Euboea. My rejoinder is that traffic would dare the horrors of the Ithaka Channel for say six hours, rather than face the slightly less dangers of the eastern route for twelve or more. These squalls are overdone, I repeat, to suit novel views. They are a danger everywhere in the Mediterranean, but in spite of them traffic went everywhere. Surely early seamen would have some weather lore, and would know when to sail and when to wait their

opportunity to go up the channel and so halve the distance to Polis, even when there was no goddess specially φυλάσσειν τε ῥύεσθαι τε. When there is a deity present in epic story, his or her power over the winds is absolute. If Athené gave Telemachus a fair wind, there were no adverse squalls *that* night. It is going very far to test the divine action by our *Pilot*. I wonder if someone will ever be tempted, in dependence on modern handbooks, to analyze the hurly-burly raised by Poseidon in ε 292 ff.

And, if Mr. Brewster be right, must we not wonder how Odysseus or his forbears came to put the capital at Polis? Every ship that arrived at or left it must have run the risk of these terrible squalls. Yet chosen it was, and two of the highest authorities, Bérard, after his careful local investigation, and the Admiral Ludwig Salvator, who spent several seasons studying the geography of these islands, and must have acquired intimate experience of these pests, have only the highest praise for the wisdom of the selection. To Mr. Brewster it must be an extremely foolish one.

And there is another difficulty. On XXXI, 144 Mr. Brewster says Homer "suggests quite strongly" that the ship of Telemachus, after he left it in the south of Thiaki, was not seen by the Wooers on Asteris when approaching Polis. I think I exposed the inaccuracy of this positive statement, and I now see that Bérard (II, 469) has the same conclusion. If the ship was not seen, how explain that the Wooers returned to Polis immediately after her? Obviously they saw they were foiled and that their enterprise was at an end. Mr. Brewster now only says (XXXVI, 82) "we are not told which side of Thiaki the ship sailed to reach the city." But it is clear, as she was seen from Asteris, which to him is Arkoudi, that on his view the crew had taken her from the haven now called S. Andrea, along the southern end of the island, up its whole length, round its northern end, and down to Polis, when they had the alternative of getting home by less than half the distance in the channel. Is that conceivable? Were there squalls that morning that affected the channel alone? Only by some such violent supposition can we imagine the crew taking such a course. They did not; they went up the channel, and were seen from Daskalio.

And lastly, we have the new view supported by an argument from Apollonius Rhodius. The reference is to an instance of what Mr.

Seaton, in his Introduction to the Loeb edition, calls "the astonishing geography" of the fourth book of the *Argonautica*. It is perhaps not the most astonishing incident, but one may doubt if such a bungled description of a voyage is to be found in serious literature. The Argonauts (IV, 1223 ff.) leave Corfu and reach the Sinus Ambracicus, and then we find them at Acarnania ("the land of the Curetes"), but whether north or south of the north end of Leukas is not stated. But as they are next at "the narrow islands"—obviously the conspicuously "narrow" Insulae Taphiae, Taphos, Carnos, and Castos, north of the Echinades—they must have come through Leukas, either sailing through the lagoon or carrying their ship over the isthmus—a feat that would be child's play to men who afterward carried her for twelve days across the Libyan desert. So they did not take Mr. Brewster's regular route. But if he insists they did, sailing down west of Leukas, and then between Arkoudi and Thiaki, what were they doing at the Echinades, which Apollonius mentions? They would coast down the eastern shore of Thiaki, and not go near those islands. The passage is a mere jumble, and to call it "direct evidence" (XXXVI, 70), and to base on it an argument for regular nautical practice, are very extreme proceedings. Let us bear in mind how Apollonius saves his credit later on when a still "taller" tale is told—*Μουσάων ὅδε μῦθος ἔγω δ' ὑπακούω ἀείδω Πιερίδων*. Do not blame the poor bard; he "does but sing because he must," and is not responsible for what the Muses put into his head, an apology that may have been the model for that injunction in a saloon in the Far West, "Do not shoot at the man at the piano; he does his best."

And here I may notice Mr. Brewster's elaboration of Bérard's suggestion that the Odyssean geography is taken from an old Phoenician *periplus*, a suggestion that was the part of Bérard's work that found least favor. Mr. Brewster's attempt to prove the existence of an old sea poem or coast pilot in Homer's day is directed against Dörpfeld, and I need not criticize it in detail, but we have all learned by experience to distrust these pre-Homeric epics and other poems that are evolved by inquirers for specific purposes, and of which nothing is known *aliunde*. There is too much disregard of the caution against confusing stories and poems, in other words saga and epos. In the present case, in spite of  $\mu$  70, Meuli (who confesses his *vieler unsichere*

*Vermutungen*), Autran, with his equation of Egyptian and Ægean, and the Hymn to Apollo, I think it quite unnecessary to go beyond the *alte Märchenlieder oder -erzählungen* referred to by Drerup, *loc. cit.* The evidence adduced is certainly far from being "conclusive" (XXXVI, 53). The word is quite inapplicable to the evidence. To say that "on this theory we have the right to assume" (XXXI, 139 f.) that Telemachus followed the *periplus* in all particulars, or that "the speech of the goddess is a repetition of the sailing directions" in it, is going very far indeed. There may have been an ancient Baedeker; more cannot be said. But one ground adduced provokes a further remark. Mr. Brewster dwells on a number of points in the geographical references to Ithaka in the *Odyssey* which he thinks are just such as would be noted in a work of the kind, but that seems to me to find what one is looking for. For myself, after reading the discussion, I cannot say there is a single matter of which the poet could not have become cognizant in the course of a voyage from the Peloponnesus, a short stay on Ithaka, and a sail round the island. And of course the notions of personal knowledge and a handbook of some sort do not exclude each other. We may see indications of one or other according to the motive which rules our scrutiny, but it seems to me to require some hardihood to assign any particular fact definitely to either source. We can do no more than conjecture (Drerup, *op. cit.*, p. 480).

#### LEUKAS—SAMÉ

So many and various have been the opinions in this controversy that it is hardly safe to say it, but I do not think it has occurred to anyone to make Leukas Homer's Samé, as Mr. Brewster now does. I have myself from the first followed Bunbury, Allen, and others, with whom Professor Bury now agrees (*Camb. Anct. Hist.*, II, 480), that Leukas is Dulichium. I refer to my paper on Meges and Dulichium in *Classical Philology*, XIX, 140 ff., Mr. Brewster's only mention of which is a note on XXXVI, 65. He thinks the explanation there of the famous *πρὸς Ἡλίδος* passage, φ 346 f., is the best that has been given, but adds that "it depends on two premises: (1) that Dulichium is Leukas; (2) that *νήσοισι* referred only to Samé and Zacynthus. Neither of these is certain." Had that been so, the explanation should, I think, have been described as the worst ever given.



but I am at a loss to understand such a version of my argument. I did not assume either point. I argued, and with good reason, that Dulichium, from which Amphinomus came, and wheresoever it might be, is not included in the *νήσοι*. Thiaki is mentioned separately. Two islands remain, and they must be Cefalonia and Zante, as these alone can be described as lying *πρὸς Ἡλίδος*. Zante is certainly Zacynthos, therefore Cefalonia is Samé. The proof is good for Dulichium.

My further argument in the same paper from a point, hitherto overlooked, in the Thesprotian tale, viz., the *κακὴ βουλή* formed by the crew of the ship, is not noticed by Mr. Brewster. He seems to be oppressed by the belief, which others have shared, that the shipmen went out of their way in order to have supper at Thiaki (XXXI, 148 and XXXIII, 66), but for that there is no warrant. At any rate the *κακὴ βουλή* makes all clear, and the story is excellent support for Leukas-Dulichium. But I need not repeat what I said before.

It is true, as Mr. Brewster says (XXXVI, 67), that Homer, while he furnishes "very little information" about Samé, gives "a considerable amount" about Dulichium. It is also true that all this considerable amount is consistent with Leukas-Dulichium. We have seen how *πρὸς Ἡλίδος* and the Thesprotian yarn support it. Take next the names. It is almost impossible that the name Samé (= "the height," vouched by Strabo, *σάμους ἐκάλουν τὰ ὕψη*; and cf. Bérard, II, 411 f.) can have been given to any of the islands other than Cefalonia, seeing that its mountain Ainos, now Monte Negro, is about half as high again as any in the other islands, and visible 80 miles away. It is doubtful if *Δουλίχιον* is "Long Island," from *δολιχός*, but if it is, it suits the long straight western coast of Leukas with its conspicuous white cliffs (*J.H.S.*, XXXIV, 239 and Bérard, II, 481), which latter already in Homer give the later name in *Λευκὰς Πέτρη*. The combination in the *Catalogue* of Dulichium with the Echinades close by is also confirmatory (*J.H.S.* XXXIV, 230 f., and Bury in *Camb. Anct. Hist.*, II, 480). Mr. Brewster finds support for Samé in the numbers of the Wooers, and so do I for Dulichium, but when he finds a "striking point" in the equality of the proportions of the Wooers 3,000 years ago and of populations *now*, he seems to forget his own caution against evidence that is "modern." Then there is the order of enumeration of the three islands, corresponding to their position from north to



south, and possibly to order of prosperity and importance, if not of mere brute area. Add to this the evidence from the epithets, *πολύτροπος* and *ποιήεις* of Dulichium, and *παιπαλόεις* of Samé. And, negatively, there is no contradiction of the *Iliad* in the *Odyssey* on the point of sovereignty. Odysseus ruled Kephallenes, Meges Epeioi, and it is nowhere stated in the *Odyssey* that Dulichium was part of the realm of Odysseus. That error, constantly repeated, has been responsible for much of the Leukas-Ithaka logomachy. And lastly, it may be noted that there is the competent archaeological authority of Mr. Thompson (*Liverpool Annals*, IV, 133) on behalf of the identification.

There is thus good ground for equating Leukas with Dulichium and for questioning Leukas-Samé. Evidence for the latter, except Arkoudi and the eastern route, there is none. That is Mr. Brewster's misfortune, not his fault. But further, there is for him the extremely awkward fact that his realm of Meges, the Echinades plus Cefalonia (his Dulichium), is cut in two by the kingdom of Odysseus, consisting to him of Leukas (Samé), Thiaki, and Zante. The difficulty has been felt by other inquirers, and is met by Mr. Brewster by two considerations. First, a possibility that the divisions in the *Catalogue of the Ships* are not political, but simply for purposes of war. It was so with the Germans in Caesar's time, and the "general view" (a questionable description [Bury in *Camb. Anct. Hist.*, II, 474]) is that the Achaeans came in from the north. But it is also noted that the Echinades have the epithet *ιεραί* or "holy." Why? Because they seem to be "the natural locality for an exchange of cargoes" between the people of the Ionian Islands and those of the regions of the Gulf of Corinth, and, as Bérard has shown (I, 120), "all early places of trade were put under the protection of a sanctuary." But Bérard does not appear to make this sweeping statement. He is only observing how the gods that stranger merchants brought with them to a point in Greece, helped, in their transactions, *inculquer le respect aux barbares de leur clientèle*. Moreover, the natural locality for exchange must be some half-way house, convenient for both sides. The Echinades could not be this for the vast mass of the traffic from the Gulf. They might be for the small fraction from the northwest of the Peloponnesus, as it and Cefalonia and Thiaki are about equidistant from them, but all three are so near to each other that it is impossible to imagine the necessity for an

intermediate center. Homer, who mentions a number of famous shrines, does not include this central fane of frequent resort, and it is not suggested that there is any trace of such a sanctuary in literature or tradition. The explanation must be rejected, and the difficulty of the combination of Cefalonia and the Echinades remains.

There is also, to use Professor Myres's words (*Camb. Anct. Hist.*, III, 674 n.), the "change of names and jostling of inhabitants" which Mr. Brewster, like Dr. Dörpfeld, requires for his hypothesis. As to that it is urged (XXXVI, 62) that Leukas could easily lose its name because invasion from the mainland would be so easy. Cefalonia was the natural refuge of the dispossessed Leukadians, and the name Samé is actually found on it. Indeed it may have been, it is said, a refuge for outcasts in general, as there is a tradition of an incursion of Taphians, a pirate tribe, it may be added, who were fond of incursions. Again we are met by mere possibilities. All that can be granted is that such changes may possibly have taken place. On the other hand, as already said, Samé, or "The Height," as a name for Leukas with the towering Monte Negro a few miles away, is out of the question. And surely the name Samé in Cefalonia is better evidence for Cefalonia as its owner than a merely possible transfer from Leukas can be for Leukas. Mr. Brewster argues against Dörpfeld (XXXVI, 61) that, if Thiaki ever bore the name Samé, and Leukas ever bore the name Ithaka, some recollection would have been preserved in either case. And if Leukas ever bore the name Samé, what about recollection there? Apparently none was preserved, and indeed there is no connecting link between Leukas and Samé. We are thrown back on Arkoudi-Asteris and a new, and, it seems to me, impossible view of the course of trade between the Peloponnesus and Polis.

#### LANGUAGE

Mr. Brewster adheres to his interpretation of *πορθμός* as "trade-route." It is unnecessary for me to repeat what I have said, but I must expose his error on one important point. He thinks the argument *ex silentio* is little worth. Now it is an extremely common habit in Homeric discussions to dismiss an argument of the kind in a summary way, but sometimes, as in the present case, it has real value. It is a question of opportunity on the part of the writer. Can it be shown

that there are occasions on which he might have used the expression or referred to the thing in question, but does not? Better still, can it be shown that, having such opportunities, he substituted something else? I showed that this is precisely the case with *πορθμός*, so the argument *ex silentio* is sound, and most damaging to the new interpretation. It is based on Homeric fact, not on inference from post-Homeric usage.

Mr. Brewster describes his evidence on this point as "quite conclusive" (XXXVI, 70). Considering its very slender nature, I think he is unduly positive. Apart from his quotations from later Greek, it depends on *one* occurrence in Homer of the word *πορθμῆς*, which he says Homer defines in terms that agree closely with the idea of a common carrier, but which I venture to affirm agree more closely with the idea of a common ferryman. The definition is contained in *v* 187 f. The lines *π* 227 f., to which he says I once referred him, are not in point, as there is no mention of a *πορθμός* or *πορθμῆς* there. Line 228 cannot in any case be depended upon as supplying the missing connection, for it is a formula. There is a third occurrence, *μ* 40, with the variation *θελγουσιν* for *πέμπουσιν*. The new theory depends on *v* 187. In interpreting it we must be guided by line 210 of the same book. Whether the *δῆμος Κεφαλλήνων* there mentioned, where Philoitios served, was in Cefalonia or on the mainland of Acarnania has not been, and perhaps never will be, determined, but in either case it certainly favors ferrying more than a trade route. Mr. Brewster argues that Odysseus had no flocks or herds in Acarnania. Then what of *ἡπειρος* in B 635 and *ξ* 100? His reply is that it is Elis. Then what is *ἀντιπέραια* in B 635? It must be Acarnania. In either case Odysseus had a footing there.

The argument *ex silentio*, with this weakness of the one Homeric support cited, is enough to warrant us in rejecting the new idea, but I will add one remark. Did any scholar, ancient or modern, ever doubt that the words *ἐν πορθμῷ* mean "in a strait," till Dörpfeld and Goessler, finding themselves in just that position, were driven to hammer out the new meaning of *Wasserweg* or *Wasserbahn*? I say nothing of modern scholars; Mr. Brewster is of course entitled to hold his own view against them. His predecessors may all have been astray, and Dörpfeld may have set them on the right path, and he may be advancing

Dörpfeld to the ultimate truth. But what are we to think of the ignorance of the meaning of a word in their own language displayed by the ancients? We cannot surely discard their authority and deny their interpretation in this particular instance, because the word had other uses in later centuries, uses which it may even have had in Homer's day, though as to that no one can possibly say. I submit that nothing has been adduced of a nature to shake our confidence that the men of old were right.

And exactly the same must be said about other Greek words which are now explained to us in a new way. It is said that *μεσσηγὺς Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε* is not "strictly speaking, true of Daskalio." It is not, if *μεσσηγὺς* must be taken to mean that the islet was equidistant, or nearly so, from the two shores, but one has only to consult a Homeric lexicon to see that the word is used loosely to signify "somewhere in the space between" two objects or points. The same applies to *μέσος* in the phrase, also of Asteris, *μέσση ἄλι*. It may be, to some tastes, better of Arkoudi; it is perfectly good of Daskalio. And as to the argument that the cruising of the Wooers took place *ἐνὶ πόντῳ*, will Mr. Brewster affirm that the application of *πόντος*, or *ἄλι*, to the stretch of water between Cefalonia and Thiaki is denied by Homeric usage? I trow not. But this is far from being all. A new meaning has to be found for the word *ναύλοχος*, viz. (of harbors) "where ships may be safely beached." This is "when we consider the habit of hauling ships out on the shore." And when we consider the habit of anchoring ships in a roadstead, what then? Mr. Brewster says (XXXIII, 75) that "the prehistoric navigators, instead of anchoring, pulled their boats up on shore." Then who are the navigators who, in the poems, use *εὐναί* and *πρυμνήσια*? This new interpretation has never, so far as I am aware, occurred to anyone before, but support is found in Liddell and Scott's "affording a safe anchorage, as it were the bed or resting-place of ships." The latter part of the explanation is obviously epexegetic of the first, but Mr. Brewster very strangely decides that it is an alternative, and finds it more appropriate to his needs than the first. Again, one can only ask whether the men of old can be allowed to have known their own language. Next comes a line which I quoted, ε 404, *οὐ γὰρ ἔσαν λιμένες νηῶν ὄχοι, οὐδ' ἐπιωγαί*. There is no need, it is said, for the second epithet, but *ἐπιωγαί* is a noun, not an adject-

tive. That word and *νηῶν ὄχοι* are taken as referring to the same thing, but it is enough to refer to the note of Merry and Riddell, quoting the scholiast. The *ἐπιωγαί* are not harbors or havens, like the *λιμένες* in the first part of the line, but roadsteads where ships might lie under the lee of the land. And finally, in regard to ε 418, *ἡίονας τε παραπλήγας λιμένας τε θαλάσσης*, the authority of a translation of the *Odyssey* is quoted against me. The translator gives *παραπλήγας* = "shelving," but in eight editions of the poem and four lexica that I have consulted, I do not find that meaning given. And surely the *παρα-*, especially when considered with reference to *ἀντιπλήξ*, which the commentators quote, will be difficult to explain on the new view.

The above appear to constitute a series of genuine linguistic novelties. Mr. Brewster may be right about them all, but he seems to stand *contra mundum*. When we consider with them the other innovations to which he has been forced, I think we must say that the new case only multiplies difficulties.

ST. ANDREWS

## ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE UNDER ATHENIAN OLIGARCHIES

BY ROBERT J. BONNER

The popular courts constituted the bulwark<sup>1</sup> of Athenian democracy. The constitutional history of Athens is largely a record of the various enactments that enlarged and consolidated their power, such as the restriction of the powers of the Areopagus, the limitation of the punitive power of the senate of Five Hundred, the γραφή παρανόμων, the law regulating impeachments (νόμος εισαγγελτικός), and the provision of pay for jurors. This movement encountered much opposition. "I should like to know," says Socrates in the *Gorgias*, "whether the Athenians are said to have been made better by Pericles or on the contrary to have been corrupted by him; for I hear that he was the first who gave the people pay, and made them idle and cowardly, and encouraged them in the love of talk and money."<sup>2</sup> The rejoinder of Callicles that Socrates must have heard that from the philo-Laconian set shows that these were the sentiments of the conservatives who, if not openly anti-democratic, were at least strongly opposed to the type of democracy developed under Pericles and his successors. The assassination of Ephialtes shows to what lengths they were ready to go.

Not much constructive contemporary criticism has survived. Indeed there could be little so long as the theory prevailed that those who governed should administer justice. There could be no real improvement until people were willing to intrust large judicial powers to men fitted by training and temperament to exercise them wisely. In the fourth century Plato maintained that justice could not be properly administered by butchers and bakers and candlestick-makers.<sup>3</sup> But he was far in advance of his time. Pseudo-Xenophon writing in 424 B.C. observes that "in their courts the Athenians are more concerned with what is to their advantage than what is just," and that "a

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle *Constitution of Athens* ix, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Plato *Gorgias* 515 E.

<sup>3</sup> Plato *Republic* 397 D.

bad man has a better chance of escaping justice in a democracy."<sup>1</sup> He rejects the suggestion that the congestion of the courts might be cured by providing more panels because the smaller numbers would be more easily bribed. "Any large modification is out of the question short of damaging democracy itself. No doubt many expedients might be discovered for improving the constitution, but if the problem is to discover some adequate means of improving the constitution while at the same time democracy is to remain intact, I say it is not easy to do."<sup>2</sup> The plain implication of such language is that the only way to improve the democratic administration of justice is to abolish democracy. In 355 B.C. Isocrates<sup>3</sup> charges the courts with laxity and advocates a return to the days when the Areopagus was guardian of the constitution and the laws. This proposal must have been familiar to Athenian conservative circles in the fifth century. There are indications in the pseudo-Xenophonic essay on the Athenian constitution<sup>4</sup> that the problem of restricting litigation had been raised. After giving a list of the different types of cases that came before the courts the writer inquires, "Must we not recognize the necessity of deciding all these matters? Otherwise let anyone mention one, the settlement of which is not compulsory." Some critics believed that the indefiniteness of the laws of Solon was responsible for much unnecessary litigation.<sup>5</sup>

Twice in the last quarter of the fifth century the oligarchs had an opportunity of putting into effect current suggestions for the improvement of the administration of justice. Both in 411 and 404 B.C. the oligarchs employed constitutional means to overthrow democracy by appointing commissions of thirty to draft a constitution based on the *πάτριος πολιτεία*. According to Thucydides<sup>6</sup> the commission of 411 merely recommended the abrogation of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*. By thus destroying the greatest safeguard of the constitution the revolutionists rendered the courts powerless. Any proposal could be brought before the assembly. The government was put into the hands of the Four Hundred who took the place of the senate and filled the magistracies with their adherents.

<sup>1</sup> (Xenophon) *Constitution of Athens* i. 13; ii. 20. Dakyns' translation.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 8 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Areopagiticus* 34. Cf. *Antidosis* 142.

<sup>5</sup> viii. 67. Cf. Aristotle *op. cit.* xxix. 4.

<sup>6</sup> iii. 6.



Criminal cases came before the Four Hundred as senators with power to inflict even the death penalty. Andocides<sup>1</sup> was arraigned before them charged with supplying grain and oar spars to the army at Samos which had espoused the cause of democracy. Thus the indictment was for trading with the enemy. At first the senate seemed disposed to put him to death but in the end sent him to prison. According to Thucydides an Argive implicated in the murder of Phrynicius was apprehended and "tortured by the Four Hundred."<sup>2</sup> The torture was applied for the purpose of procuring a confession. During their four months in power the Four Hundred put a few to death, imprisoned some, and banished others.<sup>3</sup>

No trials for homicide are reported, but there is no evidence that the Areopagus did not continue to function as a homicide court.<sup>4</sup> The intervention of the Four Hundred in the inquiry regarding the death of Phrynicius was to secure evidence.

Similarly there is no information regarding the disposal of civil cases. Popular courts could have been recruited from the ranks of the Five Thousand, but there is every reason to believe that this body existed only on paper until, upon the overthrow of the Four Hundred, the assembly voted to turn over the government to them. Whether the constitutions described by Aristotle belong to this transitional period or to the preceding oligarchic régime makes little difference, for they contain no definite provisions regarding the judiciary. The temporary or transitional constitution provided for a council of four hundred. "In all that concerned the laws, in the examination of official accounts, and in other matters generally it might act according to its discretion."<sup>5</sup> This section of the constitution undoubtedly gave the council a free hand in organizing the judiciary. In the definitive constitution which never came into effect there is not a word about the judiciary.

To a modern reader this seems to be a strange omission. There are two possible explanations. Either Aristotle omitted the matter in

<sup>1</sup> ii. 13 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides viii. 92.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* viii. 70. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Demosthenes *Aristocrates* 66. τοῦτο μόνον τὸ δικαστήριον οὐχὶ τύραννος, οὐκ ὀλιγαρχία, οὐ δημοκρατία τὰς φονικὰς δίκας ἀφελῆσθαι τετόλμηκεν.

<sup>5</sup> Aristotle *op. cit.* 31. Cf. Smith, *Athenian Political Commissions*, p. 66; Ferguson, "The Constitution of Theramenes," *Classical Philology*, XXI, 72.

his summary or the commission having provided the machinery of government left these and other details of administration to be worked out by the new government. This is what Plato did in the *Republic*.<sup>1</sup>

The Thirty did not, like the committee appointed in 411 B.C., report back to the assembly but deferred their report indefinitely. Meanwhile they filled the magistracies and the senate with their adherents. Such laws as they required they reported to the senate for ratification.<sup>2</sup> Xenophon<sup>3</sup> speaks of Critias along with Charicles as νομοθέτης. This simply means that these men because of their prominence were credited with initiating all the legislation of the Thirty. Owing to their longer tenure of power and their firmer grip on the situation the Thirty made a deeper impression on their own and the succeeding generation than the Four Hundred. Consequently more data are available for reconstructing the history of their rule. Some of their statutes known as "new laws"<sup>4</sup> (καινοὶ νόμοι) deal with the administration of justice. They are laws such as might have been promulgated by the governments provided for in the constitutions summarized by Aristotle in connection with his account of the Four Hundred.<sup>5</sup> In two instances the legislation reflects very closely current criticism of the democratic judicial system.

"They revised such of the laws of Solon as were obscure and so were responsible for much unnecessary litigation." As an example Aristotle<sup>6</sup> cites their "making the testator free once for all to leave his property as he pleased, and abolishing the existing limitations in case of old age, insanity, and undue female influence." He admits that the laws of Solon were not always drawn up "in simple and explicit terms" and cites the law regarding inheritances as an illustration. But he rejects the naïve view that Solon did this purposely "in order that the final decision might be in the hands of the people." His own view is that the obscurities were due to the "impossibility of attaining ideal perfection when framing a law in general terms."<sup>7</sup> The purpose of these changes was that "no opening might be left for the professional accuser."

<sup>1</sup> Plato *Republic* 425.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle *op. cit.* 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Memorabilia* i. 2. 31. Cf. Demosthenes *Timocrates* 91.

<sup>4</sup> Xenophon *Hellenica* ii. 3. 51.

<sup>5</sup> Aristotle *op. cit.* 30 and 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 35. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 9. 2. Cf. Aristotle *Politics* 1282 b.

Another law forbidding instruction in λόγων τέχνη<sup>1</sup> was really a blow at the courts. Xenophon says it was aimed at Socrates by Critias because of a long-standing personal grievance against him. But such an ordinance if enforced for any considerable period would not only destroy all higher education but would prevent young men from obtaining an adequate training for appearing before the courts. And courts could not function properly without competent accusers.

The Thirty rescinded the laws of Ephialtes and Archestratus regarding the Areopagus. Nothing is known of Archestratus in this connection. Aristotle, in his account of the legislation of 462 and 451-450 restricting the powers of the Areopagus, mentions only Ephialtes and Pericles. The former is said "to have stripped the Areopagus of all the acquired prerogatives from which it derived its guardianship of the constitution and assigned some of them to the council of the Five Hundred and others to the Assembly and the law courts." Some ten years later Pericles τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν ἕνα παρείλετο.<sup>2</sup>

In the meantime there may have been further legislation which is not mentioned in this summary account. It has recently been very plausibly argued that one of the privileges taken from the Areopagites at this time was the right to sit as ἐφέται in the minor homicide courts.<sup>3</sup>

By these various measures the Thirty τὸ κύρος δ' ἦν ἐν τοῖς δικασταῖς κατέλυσαν.<sup>4</sup> This purpose was effected partly by removing some of the causes of litigation by a simplification of the laws and partly by assigning to other bodies and officials some of the functions and prerogatives of the Heliastic courts. What these functions were can only be conjectured. The most prolific sources of litigation under the democracy were the δοκιμασίαι, εἶθυναί and γραφαὶ παρανόμων.

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon *Memorabilia* i. 2. 31. Cf. Grote, VIII, 229.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle *Constitution of Athens* 25 and 27.

<sup>3</sup> The minor homicide courts—Palladium, Delphinium, Phreatto—were originally commissions of 51 *ephetae* (ἐφῆται), "men sent out" (Gertrude Smith, *Administration of Justice from Hesiod to Solon*, pp. 16 ff.). One of the privileges of which Pericles deprived the Areopagus in 451-450 was the right to sit in the minor homicide court. They were henceforth manned by dicasts who continued in the spirit of religious conservatism to be called *ephetae* (Gertrude Smith, "Dicasts in Ephetic Courts," *Classical Philology*, XIX, 353 ff.). His motive was to strengthen his political power by enabling more citizens to draw pay for jury service.

<sup>4</sup> Aristotle *op. cit.* 35.

Nothing could be easier than to transfer all questions relating to the magistrates and the laws to the Areopagus which had *τὴν τῆς πολιτείας φυλακὴν*.<sup>1</sup> The restoration of the right of the Areopagites to sit as *ἐφέται* in the minor homicide courts would fit in admirably with the policy of the Thirty to eliminate the popular courts by leaving little or nothing for them to do.

There are no references to cases before the Areopagus and other homicide courts. Some scholars have interpreted a provision in the amnesty agreement to mean that the Areopagus as a homicide court was suspended *τὰς δὲ δίκας τοῦ φόνου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια εἰ τίς τίνα αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἔκτειεν ἢ ἔτρωσεν*.<sup>2</sup> But neither this passage nor the statement of a client of Lysias regarding the Areopagus *ὧ καὶ πάτριόν ἐστι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀποδίδοται τοῦ φόνου τὰς δίκας δικάζειν* afford any justification for supposing that the men who restored large political powers to the Areopagus would think of depriving it of its most ancient judicial function particularly when they were seeking to give the impression that they were administering the state "according to the ancient constitution." The provision in question was inserted in the agreement to exclude from amnesty actual murderers who for any reason had escaped justice under the Thirty and to include any citizen forcibly implicated in the judicial murders of the Thirty for which they themselves were to be held responsible. Amnesty was never extended to murderers and other polluted persons. In the passage in Lysias *ἀποδίδοται* does not mean "restored" as Hermann pointed out long ago but rather *steht zu*, "is competent."<sup>3</sup> The most recent editors of Lysias render the passage as follows: "Le tribunal d'Aréopage lui-même qui, comme au temps de nos ancêtres, a aujourd'hui le privilège des affaires de meurtre."<sup>4</sup>

There are casual references to *εἰσαγγελία*, *ἐνδείξεις*, *φάσις*, and *ἀπογραφὴ* in the time of the Thirty, but there is no indication of the tribunal before which they were brought except in one instance. During the rule of the Ten who succeeded the Thirty for a short time

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *op. cit.*, 25. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle *Constitution of Athens* 39. 5. For a full discussion of this passage see Bonner, *Classical Philology*, XIX, 175-76.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Frohberger, *Lysias*, II, 180.

<sup>4</sup> Gernet and Bizos. Paris, 1924. *Lysias* I. 30.

Patrocles, the king archon, met a personal enemy, Callimachus, carrying a sum of money. Patrocles at once stopped him and asserted that the money belonged to the state.<sup>1</sup> During the dispute Rhinon, one of the Ten, appeared. On hearing the details of the quarrel he took the disputants before his colleagues, presumably for a preliminary examination. The case came before the senate for trial in the form of a *φάσις*, and a verdict in favor of the treasury was rendered. Patrocles evidently acted as prosecutor. It was the senate that tried the sycophants who were put to death in large numbers at the beginning of the rule of the Thirty. The form in which these cases were brought is not specified. It was probably *εἰσαγγελία* which was a normal form of procedure against sycophants. *ἐνδειξις* was also used in certain cases.<sup>2</sup> Just before the overthrow of the democracy the well-organized oligarchs procured the arrest of Strombichides and other prominent democrats charging them with plotting against the government. The senate brought them before the overawed assembly which voted that they should be tried by a dicastery of two thousand. After the Thirty were installed in power they had the men tried by the senate. Lysias quotes the verdict of the senate exonerating the informer Agoratus from complicity in the plot.<sup>3</sup> There is no reported case of *ἀπογραφή* but the process is so similar to *φάσις* that it also would naturally come before the senate.

The Thirty themselves exercised judicial functions. Like the democratic magistrates and boards they conducted the preliminary investigation (*ἀνάκρισις*) and presided at the trial. One of the "new laws" gave the Thirty the right to put to death any Athenian whose name was not on the catalogue of the Three Thousand. Theramenes was first brought before the senate, but when it became apparent that the senators could not be trusted to condemn him, Critias withdrew the case, struck Theramenes' name from the list of citizens, and had him condemned by the Thirty.<sup>4</sup> No doubt the Thirty were responsible for the majority of the judicial executions that made their rule a reign of terror.

<sup>1</sup> Isocrates xviii. 5 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Lofberg, *Sycophancy in Athens*, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Lysias xiii 35 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Xenophon *Hellenica* ii. 3. 51.

No civil cases are reported. In fact, a client of Isocrates<sup>1</sup> says that court sittings were suspended. *πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ἀκαταστάτως ἐχόντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ δικῶν οὐκ οὐσῶν τῷ μὲν οὐδὲν πλεον ἦν ἐγκαλοῦντι κ. τ. λ.* This statement does not necessarily mean that there was no provision for the trial of private suits (*δίκαι*) during the whole period of the tyranny; it may simply mean that toward the end of their rule the city was distracted by civil war and the courts could not sit. This situation occasionally arose under democracy in war time. Demosthenes<sup>2</sup> cites a law of restored democracy to the effect that *ὅποσα δ' ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐπράχθη ἡ δίκη ἐδικάσθη, ἡ ἰδίᾳ ἢ δημοσίᾳ, ἄκυρα εἶναι*. It is of no consequence in this connection whether the law as quoted is genuine or not, for the text of the speech shows that it had to do with the annulment of "things done in the time of the Thirty."<sup>3</sup> That *res judicatae* are included is indicated by the words *πότερον (φῆσομεν) τὰ δικαστήρια, ἃ δημοκρατουμένης τῆς πόλεως ἐκ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων πληροῦται, ταῦτ' ἀδικήματα τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντ' ἀδικεῖν*; Demosthenes' words throw no light on the composition of the tribunals under the Thirty. By implication they are called *δικαστήρια*, but at the same time they are distinguished from the democratic *δικαστήρια* recruited ἐκ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων. Frohberger calls them *rechtswidrig zusammengesetzte Dikasterien*, meaning presumably panels drawn from the Three Thousand. The measures taken to suppress sycophants suggest that the Thirty planned some sort of popular court in addition to the senate, for sycophancy could flourish only where there were large courts. The Three Thousand along with the knights made up the court that tried and condemned the Eleusinians,<sup>4</sup> but they were not called upon to try Strombichides and other active democrats though there was a psephism that they should be tried by a dicastery of two thousand.<sup>5</sup> The trial of the Eleusinians was a travesty of justice in which the Three Thousand were required to participate in order that they might be implicated in the crimes of the tyrants.

<sup>1</sup> xxi. 7. Owing to doubts that have been cast upon the authenticity of this speech too much weight should not be attached to the statement that there were no court sessions (Drerup, *Isocratis Opera Omnia*, I, cxix).

<sup>2</sup> xxiv. 56 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 57: ὁ γοῦν νόμος οὐτοσὶ ἀπέειπε τὰ πραχθέντα ἐπ' ἐκείνων μὴ κύρι' εἶναι.

<sup>4</sup> Xenophon *Hellenica* ii. 4. 9-10.

<sup>5</sup> Lysias xiii. 35.

Provision could have been made for civil suits by withdrawing the right of appeal from the decisions of the magistrates. This was the system in vogue before the reforms of Solon and could be justified as a restoration of the *πάτριος πολιτεία*.

An expression of Lysias<sup>1</sup> suggests that arbitration was widely used under the Thirty. A client had been one of the Three Thousand. On this ground he was challenged as being anti-democratic on his *δοκιμασία* when selected for office under the restored democracy. He maintained that his conduct had been irreproachable though there had been plenty of opportunity for wrongdoing if he had been so disposed. For example, he had arrested no one, put no one on the list of proscribed, *οὔδε δίκαιαν καταδικαιησάμενος οὐδενός*.

The implication of this statement is not only that arbitration was an important feature in litigation but that adherents of the Thirty were in the habit of interfering in the process in the interest of themselves or their friends. Public arbitration<sup>2</sup> had not yet been instituted and it is not easy to see how there could have been any serious interference with private arbitral awards on the part of the Thirty and their friends. It is tempting to suggest that the Thirty like Pisistratus provided official arbitrators who in case of failure to induce the parties to compromise were empowered to render a binding decision. This could have been easily accomplished by withdrawing the right of appeal from decisions of the thirty rural justices appointed in 453-452. Nothing is known of the jurisdiction and methods of these judges. But it may fairly be assumed that like their predecessors, the Pisistratene Thirty, their first endeavor was to induce the parties before them to reach a compromise, and like their successors, the Forty, they handled a large proportion of the civil cases. Upon the restoration of democracy the thirty rural judges were changed to forty because of the unhappy memories associated with the number "thirty."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* xxv. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Bonner, "The Institution of Athenian Arbitrators," *Classical Philology*, XI, 191 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Pollux viii. 101.



## LITIGATION IN THE FORUM IN CICERO'S TIME

BY NORMAN W. DEWITT

In order to understand the life of the Forum one must recognize it both as a place of passage and as the center of the street system. Yet it was not situated in the geometrical center of the city limits and if a line be drawn longitudinally through it from the Via Lata on the north, the modern Corso, toward the Colosseum on the south it will be found that nine or ten of the sixteen Servian gates and two-thirds of the city area lie to the upper side of it. From these parts and the adjacent country the traffic made its way along many streets into the Forum, but found its exit to the river district and the markets by a single thoroughfare, the Vicus Tuscus, between the Tabernae Veteres, later Basilica Julia, and the temple of Castor. There was a second street, Vicus Iugarius, next the Capitol but it seems to have been narrow and little frequented. Thus the main bulk of the traffic between the upper and the lower city poured to and fro across the Forum and along the Vicus Tuscus. This must have been a veritable Euripus, the neck of the bottle.

The effect of this dense and incessant stream of traffic, to which the extant pavement still bears witness, was to cut the Forum into two unequal portions, a smaller one commonly known as *ad Castoris*, and a far larger one called *medium forum*. The customary denotation of this larger part is *in medio foro*, and it may be pointed out that this is not an example of the idiomatic use of *medius* to denote a point in the middle of a given area like *media in urbe* but rather the middle one of three distinct parts, for there was a third space in front of the Rostra nearest the Capitol called *forum infumum*. This nomenclature must have had its origin when the old kingly quarter on the Velia was the ordinary direction of approach. As one descended from *summa Velia* or *summa Sacra Via* he first arrived *ad Castoris*, then at *medium forum*, and lastly reached *forum infumum*. Similarly in the course of the same descent the citizen passed the important financial district called *Ianus summus*, *medius*, and *imus*, where *medius* again denotes the central one of three.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hor. Ep. 1. 1. 54; Sat. 2. 3. 18-19.

The largest of these three areas, *medium forum*, was surrounded on all sides by streams of traffic and the longer sides were respectively opposite to the Tabernae Novae, replaced in Cicero's later days by the Basilica Aemilia, and the Tabernae Veteres, replaced still later by the Basilica Julia. These opposite sides were colloquially known as *sub novis* and *sub veteribus*. Both were associated with praetorian tribunals and with litigation. It was *sub novis* and in sight of a tribunal, though then situated in the Comitium, that the notorious incident of Virginia was said to have taken place.<sup>1</sup> There also a *quaestio* was held in 210 B.C. to discover the origin of a conflagration.<sup>2</sup> Cicero tells of a clever gibe he directed at an opponent by pointing to the grotesque image of a Gaul that adorned the Tabernae Novae.<sup>3</sup> The elder Pliny relates a similar incident that transpired *sub veteribus*.<sup>4</sup> Plautus mentions a spot in this area where dandies paraded:

*In medio propter canalem ibi ostentatores meri.*<sup>5</sup>

This is possibly the same district that Horace refers to:

*In medio qui scripta foro recitent sunt multi.*<sup>6</sup>

Here might also have been found the hypocrite who prayed in sight of every tribunal.<sup>7</sup>

It goes without saying that the area *medium forum* was the most distinguished place for litigation. Thus Cicero quietly boasts to his brother that he has pleaded there an important case before an aristocratic praetor surrounded by a vast crowd: *Dixi pro Bestia de ambitu apud praetorem Cn. Domitium in foro medio maximo conventu.*<sup>8</sup> After Sulla raised the number of praetors to eight and gave all or most of them judicial functions it must be assumed that several tribunals would be in session at once, and this we learn to be true from a passage of *pro Cluentio*.<sup>9</sup> From the *pro Flacco* we infer that the location of the tribunal was subject to manipulation in the interests of the accuser,<sup>10</sup> and so it is assumable that the place of trial was specified when the

<sup>1</sup> Livy 3. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 26. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *De Or.* 2. 66. 266.

<sup>4</sup> H.N. 35. 4. 25.

<sup>5</sup> *Curc.* 476.

<sup>6</sup> *Sat.* 1. 4. 74-75.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep.* 1. 16. 57 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ad Q.* 2. 3. 6.

<sup>9</sup> 53. 147.

<sup>10</sup> 28. 66.

case was put on the docket. That several tribunals were in sight and hearing from a single spot may be inferred from a line of Horace:

Vir bonus omne forum quem spectat et omne tribunal.<sup>1</sup>

We take this use of *omne* to be an example of Horace's *callida iunctura*: since the last two words can only mean "every tribunal" the previous *omne forum* must signify "every part of the forum." The Roman did not think of the Forum as a single flat area but rather as consisting of several parts, each with its own character, a fact that Plautus makes clear in the famous passage of the *Curculio*.<sup>2</sup>

From a single line of Plautus we are permitted to infer that the area in front of the Rostra was a topographical unit, a purlieu of the aristocrats, and a space free for loitering.

*In foro infumo boni homines atque dites ambulant.*<sup>3</sup>

Several circumstances combined to bestow this character upon it: it was opposite the temple of Saturn, where the senatorial treasury was located, and close to the temple of Concord and the Curia, a neighborhood where citizens waited to hear the results of the deliberations of the senate; on such an occasion Cicero delivered here the third oration against Catiline. This was also the more quiet and orderly end of the Forum, being farthest removed from the traffic and turmoil of the Vicus Tuscus. Very close to this area, though doubtless *in medio foro*, the tribunal must have been located during the trial of Milo. Pompey with his entourage, it will be recalled, occupied the steps of the temple of Saturn and Cicero's words reached him only when spoken with extreme loudness.<sup>4</sup> Had the tribunal been more directly in front of him it is likely that the ordinary tones of the pleader would have been audible.

The aristocratic character of this end of the Forum was greatly enhanced by Sulla's legislation, which resulted in excluding the tribunes from the Rostra altogether.<sup>5</sup> The institution of senatorial juries must have tended also to make of the *medium forum* during hours of litigation an aristocratic preserve. This resulted in accentuating the plebeian character of the area *ad Castoris*, a condition of things that

<sup>1</sup> *Ep.* 1. 16. 57.

<sup>2</sup> 470-84.

<sup>3</sup> *Curc.* 475.

<sup>4</sup> *Ascon. Introd.* 36; *Pro Mil.* 25. 67.

<sup>5</sup> *Pro Clu.* 40. 110.

persisted long after Sulla's enactments were modified. Cicero, referring to events of Piso's consulship in 58, called the temple of Castor *arx civium perditorum* and *castellum forensis latrocinii*.<sup>1</sup> The steps of the temple formed the seat of legislation during the turbulent consulship of Caesar, and when his colleague Bibulus, an extreme aristocrat, came meddling there he was roughly handled.<sup>2</sup> Clodius in his tribunate filled the temple with arms and removed the steps.<sup>3</sup> Six years later, the mob, to spite the senate, carried the body of its murdered champion to the aristocratic precincts of the Forum and made a pyre for it in the Curia. Conversely, the body of Caesar, as was due to a patrician, was praised from the Rostra but carried to the plebeian end of the Forum to be burned. The erection of a column and altar on the spot with the inscription *Parenti Patriae* attests the character of the place, for all the lower orders thronged to it.<sup>4</sup>

It is now possible to offer a definite suggestion concerning the mysterious structure known as the *Tribunal Aurelium* or *Gradus Aurelii*, which is mentioned by Cicero in connection with events falling between the years 74 and 58. Piso and Gabinius, enemies of the orator and consuls in the latter year, passively regarded Clodius holding a levy of slaves in front of this tribunal.<sup>5</sup> Now Clodius would not have held his levy at a great distance from his citadel and arsenal and so the temple of Castor and this tribunal must be topographically associated. Moreover, the aediles had their offices in this temple and no doubt held their courts in the area *ad Castoris*. All this tallies with our account of the first trial of Cluentius, which was conducted by a *iudex quaestionis*, aedile of the preceding year, on which occasion the *Tribunal Aurelium* served as a theater for the crowd.<sup>6</sup> Being near the *Vicus Tuscus*, a public thoroughfare, slaves and the lower classes of citizens could circulate near, even though excluded by the police from the *medium forum* and the neighborhood of praetorian tribunals. The double name of the structure, *Tribunal* and *Gradus*, suggests that it consisted of steps surmounted by a platform, and its comparison to a theater implies some magnitude. It seems, therefore, that it might

<sup>1</sup> *In Pis.* 5. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Pro Sest.* 15. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Dio Cass.* 38. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Suet. Iulius* 84-85.

<sup>5</sup> *Pro Sest.* 15. 34; *In Pis.* 5. 11; *De Domo* 21. 54; *Post Red.* 13. 32.

<sup>6</sup> *Pro Clu.* 34. 93.

have run crosswise of the Forum, which is lengthwise of the area *ad Castoris*, facing the Forum like the later Rostra at the opposite end and with its rear to the establishment of Vesta.

The need of a plebeian Rostra in this district was supplied later when the small podium of the temple of Divus Julius was adapted to this purpose, but the situation must have been far more acute in previous times when Sulla excluded the tribunes from the old Rostra and the political pot was boiling more violently. So it is quite possible that Marcus Aurelius Cotta, consul in 74, had erected these steps recently before to serve the double purpose of a theater for games and a platform for the plebeians. In the *pro Cluentio* we learn that they were new in the above-mentioned year.<sup>1</sup> He could thus supply a need and evade a prohibition just as Pompey in 56 overcame the injunction against permanent theater buildings by constructing the podium of his temple of Venus in such a way as to form the cavea of his theater. That Cotta's tribunal was of wood may be taken for granted since it seems to have existed for so brief a period and no remains have come to light that tally with our information.

It may now be pointed out that in Cicero's time the three areas of the Forum *forum infimum*, *medium forum*, and *ad Castoris*, correspond in a way with the three orders *optimates*, *equites*, and *plebs*, and it may be mentioned that the tendency to separate classes socially and politically was very noticeable in the Sullan and post-Sullan period; witness the Roscian law of the year 67, which separated classes in the theater, and the Papian law of 65, which called for the expulsion of all foreigners who could not prove citizen rights of some kind. In the Forum there is reason for thinking that *peregrini* had long been allocated to a particular space. It was in 194 that the classes were first separated at public games and one of the aediles in charge was Lucius Scribonius Libo, who was probably the same man who, as *praetor peregrinus* in 192, located his tribunal near a *puteal* well known to litigants.<sup>2</sup> This *puteal Libonis* or *Scribonianum* was situated near the Arcus Fabianus and consequently close to the Sacra Via.<sup>3</sup> Thus the three areas of the Forum, named above, and this *puteal* will con-

<sup>1</sup> 34. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Livy 34. 54; Val. Max. 2. 4. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Porph. to Hor. *Ep.* 1. 19. 8.

stitute a topographical series corresponding respectively to the three political classes and the *peregrini*.

Richter in his *Topographie* is astray in speaking at this period of a single tribunal, in thinking of it as a fixed location, for the principle always held "*Ubi praetor est ibi ius est*," in associating the *puteal* with the statue of Marsyas, and still more in placing them both in the area of the aediles *ad Castoris*, or *ad Vestae*.<sup>1</sup> Acron says distinctly that the statue of Marsyas was on the Rostra and we know that copies of it were erected elsewhere as symbols of liberty and unrestricted citizenship.<sup>2</sup> It also appears in connection with the Rostra on the Trajan anaglyphs and cannot be dissociated from that part of the Forum where "*boni homines atque dites ambulant*"; if plebeians were unwelcome there is it likely that aliens were directed thither to assert their rights? It is far more reasonable that the *puteal Libonis*, selected for the site of a tribunal by one of a family interested in the separation of classes from the beginning of this movement, was to foreigners what Marsyas was to freeborn citizens, a place where accusations might be laid, bail arranged, or citizenship proved or contested.<sup>3</sup> Usurers frequented both monuments and usurers of foreign birth may have plied their trade at the *puteal*.

The gradations of classes in the Forum naturally took on a resemblance to the *cursus honorum*, which was made more rigid in this period when vigorous efforts were being made to put each class in its place. Thus the consuls corresponded to the Rostra, the praetors to *medium forum*, and the aediles to Castor's temple. The Rostra was jealously guarded and the first tribune to invade its sanctity in post-Sullan days aroused the indignation of Cicero.<sup>4</sup> The orator himself approached it for the first time in the year 66 when past forty years of age and of praetorian rank.<sup>5</sup> Since it is inconceivable that this was his first political speech we must assume that previously, when more in sympathy with the popular party, he had frequented the platform in front of Castor's temple, or neighboring tribunals temporarily free from litigation. Since aediles conducted murder trials it is likely that his first extant speech, *pro Roscio*, 80 B.C., was delivered in the area

<sup>1</sup> P. 103.

<sup>4</sup> *Pro Clu.* 40. 110.

<sup>2</sup> *Sat.* 1. 6. 120; *Serv. Aen.* 3. 20 and 4. 58.

<sup>5</sup> *Pro. Lege Man.* 1.1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep.* 1. 19. 8; *Sat.* 1. 6. 120.

*ad Castoris*; the *pro Archia*, at which his brother Quintus presided as praetor, we may place *in medio foro*, where the *pro Bestia* certainly belongs. It is likely that young barristers made a beginning at the *puteal Libonis*, the tribunal remotest from the Rostra, and this may be an element of the gibe of Horace:

Forum putealque Libonis  
mandabo siccis; adimam cantare severis.<sup>1</sup>

Originally, of course, the seat of judicature was in the Comitium,<sup>2</sup> where patricians and plebeians mingled freely with one another.<sup>3</sup> Transferred to the Forum about the beginning of the second century it remained there for about one hundred and fifty years, when litigation overflowed into the imperial Fora. Yet it was in this middle period, when the studies of great jurists were reacting upon the courts, chiefly in the Sullan and post-Sullan epochs, that the arrangement of tribunals, like the classification of cases, seems to have been reduced to order and system, a process that went on *pari passu* with the separation of pleading from jurisprudence and the separation of classes at the public games and in the theater. Cicero's career covers the era of greatest consequence.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ep.* 1. 19. 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Livy* 27. 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Livy* and *Val Max.* *loc. cit.*



## ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF *LUCIUS SIVE ASINUS*

By B. E. PERRY

In a thorough study of the language of the *Asinus*, V. Neukamm (*De Luciano Asini auctore*, 1914) found a considerable amount of Lucianic idiom in the text, and for that reason concluded that it was written by Lucian. But he also had to reckon with a comparatively large number of non-Attic usages, and these he explained as due to what W. Schmid calls *mimische Erzählung*, the conventional adaptation of style to subject matter.<sup>1</sup> Many considerations have convinced me of the adequacy of this explanation; and therefore, on the linguistic side, I see no good reason for denying the Lucianic origin of the *Asinus*, especially since Neukamm's positive evidence is very strong. But since the *Asinus* is a mere abridgment, and has been transcribed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Neukamm, p. 80. The *Asinus*, according to Schmid and Neukamm, belongs to a different grade of literature from the dialogues and sophistic essays. It deals with the lowly and realistic side of life; and the literary tradition that lay back of such compositions, and which was strongly influenced by the mime, required a popular, rather than a highly finished literary, style. This is evident from the other surviving specimens of the same genre, namely, the burlesque novels of Apuleius and of Petronius. For the style of the *Metamorphoses* is conspicuously different from that of the other works of the same author, being at one time more colloquial, at another time more imitative of poetry; and likewise the language of the *Satyricon* reflects throughout, to some extent even in the speech of Encolpius, the low character of the surroundings. So it was hardly to be expected that Lucian, in writing such a story as the *Asinus*, should strive for Attic purity in the same degree as in his other works, which, as a class, belonged to a much more formal tradition. As Neukamm points out, the author of the *Asinus* allows many a violation of Attic usage, not through ignorance, but to all appearances either on purpose or carelessly. Thus *ἐπομαι* is followed once incorrectly by the accusative, but three times correctly by the dative; *ἐπειδάν* goes with the optative once, but twice with the subjunctive; and besides these, Neukamm cites nineteen similar examples, all of which go to show that the author knew what was good Attic, even though he did not always employ it. Of the *κωμῆ* forms and constructions which we do find in the *Asinus*, all but a very few occur elsewhere in Lucian's genuine works (cf. Neukamm, pp. 80, 78-79; p. 24, on morphology; p. 28, on the genitive; pp. 30-31, on the dative).

As for the poetic words in the *Asinus*, they belong naturally to the mock-heroic style (cf. Neukamm, pp. 97-98). Such Homeric expressions as *ὁδὸν ἀργαλῆαν*, *ἀσβεστον ἐγέλωσ*, *χρυσῷ ἐσφηκωμένη*, *λαῖ ἐκίνησα*, etc., contribute to the drollery of the narrative, which is regarded by the author as a sort of humorous prose epic. This reminiscence of epic and tragedy appears to have been characteristic of the comic novel as a type; it is likewise conspicuous in Petronius and Apuleius.

αὐταῖς τε λέξεσι καὶ συντάξεσι, as Photius says,<sup>1</sup> from a lost and at one time anonymous<sup>2</sup> *Μεταμορφώσεις*, we must conclude, on the basis of this linguistic evidence, not that Lucian made the abridgment (the *Asinus*) from the *Μεταμορφώσεις* of an unknown writer, as Neukamm and others believe, but that he wrote this original *Μεταμορφώσεις* itself.

It is my purpose in the following paragraphs to strengthen this conclusion by adding somewhat to the bulk of evidence already accumulated by Neukamm and by C. F. Knaut.<sup>3</sup> What I have to add will consist mainly of parallelisms between the *Asinus* and Lucian's other works in ideas, wit, stylistic mannerisms, phraseology, and idiom; and these are intended to illustrate, but only partially and by way of supplement, the Lucianic character of the *Asinus*—or, more strictly speaking, the Lucianic character of the *Μεταμορφώσεις* from which the *Asinus* was copied. Since the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, though interpolated, has been in large part translated, often very freely and with many alterations, often quite literally, from the same common original from which the *Asinus* is derived, we may be doubly sure that such ideas or stylistic features as are common to both these derivatives belonged in the original *Μεταμορφώσεις*. For this reason I have generally cited the corresponding passages of Apuleius when they agree with the *Asinus*. Two independent witnesses for the readings of the common archetype are better than one, however faithful that one may be presumed to be.

As. 41: ἔτυχον δὲ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς εἰς τὸ τέμενος ἐκείνο παρελθόντες

<sup>1</sup> Bibl. 129. The explicit testimony of Photius is verified by the fact that Apuleius, who based his version not upon the *Asinus* but upon the lost *Μεταμορφώσεις*, often agrees quite literally with the phraseology of the former, in spite of a strong tendency to interpolate and translate freely. Moreover, the text of the *Asinus* shows numerous traces of blind and literal copying, as Bürger has demonstrated (*De Lucio Patrensi*, pp. 13-15, 23, 35); whereas, there is not the slightest evidence to show that anything has been added, except in one or two passages where a few words have evidently been inserted for the purpose of bridging a gap (e.g., ἔθα ἐκείνοι ἐκάθεδον, in As. 12; cf. Bürger, p. 36). Neukamm and W. Schmid admit that the *Asinus* is an epitome, but tacitly assume that the epitomator has added so much that the prevailing style is his own.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schanz, *Röm. Litt.*<sup>3</sup>, III, 106 ff.; Perry, *The Metamorphoses Ascribed to Lucius of Patrae*, chap. ii.

<sup>3</sup> *De Luciano libelli qui inscribitur Lucius s. Asinus auctore* (Leipzig, 1868). A few of the items listed below have already been mentioned in my dissertation (*op. cit.*, chap. v).

ἀνάθημα φιάλην χρυσὴν κλέψαντες . . . οἱ δὲ κωμῆται . . . ἀπῆτουν τὸ κλαπὲν ἀνάθημα, καὶ ἐρευνῶντες πάντα εὔρον αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τῆς θεοῦ. No one is more likely to have invented this episode than Lucian, for with him the idea is especially familiar; cf. *Herm.* 37–38. Here Lucian outlines the following hypothesis: Suppose two men enter the sanctuary of Asclepius or Dionysus, after which an ἀνάθημα, a golden (*ibid.* 38) φιάλη, proves to be missing; they will have to be searched (ἐρευνῆσθαι) to see which one has it ὑπὸ κόλπον. Compare further *Tox.* 28: συνεισῆλθέ τε αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ Ἀνουβίδειον καὶ ἀποσπύλσαντες τὸν θεὸν χρυσᾶς τε φιάλας δύο καὶ κηρύκιον. Again, in *Icarom.* 16, Menippus sees Kleinias stealing a φιάλη from the temple of Asclepius; and one Dionysodorus is caught in the act of stealing a σκύφος at the banquet (*Conv.* 46). Lucian has many references to ἱερόσυλοι. The whole episode in detail formed an integral part of the original story, as may be seen from the corresponding passage in Apuleius (*Met.* ix. 9–10). Elsewhere in fourteen authors that I have read in this connection there happen to be no parallels.<sup>1</sup>

As. 4: κὰν τούτῳ γυναῖκα ὁρῶ προσιοῦσαν ἔτι νέαν, εὐπορουμένην,<sup>2</sup> ὅσον ἦν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ συμβαλεῖν ἱμάτια γὰρ ἀνθινὰ καὶ παῖδες συγχοὶ καὶ χρυσίον περιττόν.<sup>3</sup> Compare *D. Meret.* vi. 2: ἀλλὰ νῦν ὁρᾷς οἷα πρόβεισι, χρυσὸς καὶ ἐσθῆτες εὐανθεῖς καὶ θεραπείαι τέτταρες. Compare further *Tox.* 15: θεραπείαι καὶ ἐσθῆτες εὐανθεῖς καὶ χρυσόν; *D. Meret.* ix. 2: χρυσόν, ἐσθῆτα, ἀκολούθους; and similarly, *Nigr.* 13, *Catapl.* 16, *Cron.* 1. The expression, "flowery raiment," is found in four other passages, e.g., ἐσθῆτα ἀνθινὴν in *Demon.* 16.

As. 28: ἐχρῆν δὲ ἄρα κἀνταῦθα ὥσπερ Κανδαυλὴ κάμοι γενέσθαι· ὁ γὰρ ἐπιστάτης τῶν ἵππων τῇ αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ Μεγαπόλῃ ἔνδον με κατέλειπεν. This, of course, is a parody of Herodotus i. 8: χρῆν γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> That is, in the orations of Aelius Aristides; the romances of Xenophon of Ephesus, Chariton, Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius; Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*; the *Philosophoumena* of Maximus of Tyre; the writings of Aelian (except the fragments); Arrian (except the *Discourses of Epictetus*); Alciphron's letters; the letters of Aristaenetos; the *Meditations* of M. Aurelius; and the *Apologies* of Justin Martyr. Unless otherwise indicated, the terms "elsewhere" and "only" throughout this paper have reference to these writings exclusively. Lucian and Apuleius are cited from the Teubner texts of Jacobitz and Helm, respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Philops.* 22: γυναῖκα ὁρῶ προσιοῦσαν φοβεράν, ἡμισταδιαίαν σχεδὸν τὸ ὕψος.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Fugit.* 28: ὅσον περιττόν τοῖς ἱματίοις τῶν κροκύδιων ἐπανθεῖ. The text of Apuleius (ii. 2) agrees very closely with that of the *Asinus*.

Κανδαίλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς, etc. It is important to note that Lucian has this same passage of Herodotus in mind in three different places.<sup>1</sup>

As. 13: ἐγὼ δὲ ὄναρ ἐκείνο οἰόμενος ὄραν.<sup>2</sup> Compare *Timon* 41: ἢ που ὄναρ ταῦτά ἐστι; *Herm.* 71: ὄναρ ποτὲ ἰδὼν τοιοῦτον (i.e., "a flying person" = ἐκείνο in As. 13); *Gall.* 3.

As. 36: ὡς δὲ εἶδον ὄνον ὄντα τὸν δοῦλον, ἤδη ταῦτα ἐς τὸν Φίληβον ἔσκωπτον, τοῦτον οὐ δοῦλον, ἀλλὰ νομφίον στυγῆ πόθεν ἄγεις λαβοῦσα; ὄναιο δὲ τούτων τῶν καλῶν γάμων καὶ τέκοις ταχέως ἡμῖν πῶλους τοιοῦτους. Compare *D. Meret.* xiv. 4; καὶ μάλιστα ὁπότεν ἔδη καὶ ἄβρὸς εἶναι θέλῃ, ὄνος αὐτολυρίζων, φασίν. ἀλλὰ ὄναιο αὐτοῦ ἀξία γε οὔσα καὶ γένοιτο ἡμῖν παιδίον ὅμοιον τῷ πατρί. Pace Bentley, here is a similitude taken from asses that comes close to walking on all fours.<sup>3</sup> For other word-plays in Lucian, see κυνῶν and κυεῖν in *Fugit.* 31; ἔλκοντας and ἔλκετε in *Catapl.* 9; Ἑρμῆν and Ἑρμότιμε in *Herm.* 13; πτώμα and πῶμα in *Lex.* 20.

As. 24: Νῦν, ἔφασαν, χωλὸς ὅτε ἀποδιδράσκων ἐάλωκας; ἀλλ' ὅτε φεύγειν ἐδόκει σοι, ὑγιαίνων ἵππου ὠκύτερος καὶ πετεινὸς ἦσθα. The same joke occurs in the corresponding passage of Apuleius (vi. 30). It is Lucianic: cf. *Timon* 20, where Hermes says to Plutus, τί τοῦτο; ὑποσκάξεις; ἐλελήθεις με, ὦ γεννάδα, οὐ τυφλὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χωλὸς ὢν, to which Plutus replies that when sent to anyone he is somehow χωλὸς ἀμφοτέρους, but when it is time to leave you will see him πτηνόν, πολὺ τῶν ὀνείρων ὠκύτερον. A similar witticism with reference to Plutus' blindness is found again in *Timon* 25. In *D. Deor.* v. 5 Hera says, Νῦν καὶ χωλός, ὦ Ζεῦ, ὃ Ἥφαιστος, adding that Zeus had come to notice this only since the arrival of Ganymedes; cf. further *Catapl.* 2 (*ad. fin.*). I have found no parallels elsewhere.

As. 51: ἐννοούμενος ὡς οὐδὲν εἶην κακίων τοῦ τῆς Πασιφάης μοιχοῦ. Compare *Eun.* 13: ἣν ἐπιδείξῃ ὡς οὐδὲν χείρων ἐστὶ τῶν τὰς ἵππους ἀναβαινόντων ὄνων. Compare this last in turn with the situation in As. 28 (= *Met.* vii. 16), where Lucius, the ass, finds himself among the mares.

As. 28: καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν μέτριον κακόν . . . ἢ δὲ βελτίστη ἐξεμίσθον, etc. This balancing of what is μέτριον against what is not, by

<sup>1</sup> See *Quom. Hist. Conscr.* 18 and 29, and *De Domo* 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Apuleius* iii. 22: *vigilans somniabar.*

<sup>3</sup> The only parallel to these jokes that I can find is a partial one in *Aristaenetus* (ii. 6), which, however, is a patent imitation of *D. Meret.* xiv. 4.

way of calling attention to something that deserves special emphasis, is a characteristic feature of Lucianic style; cf. *De Merc. Cond.* 35, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἴσως μέτρια. ἦν δέ, etc.; and likewise in thirteen other passages (including two where μετρίωτερον is used in place of the positive). To this manner of speaking with μέτριον or μετρίωτερον I have found, in the fourteen authors collated, only one good parallel.

As. 38: καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀνεκτὸν τὸ δεινὸν ἦν . . . ἀλλὰ τὰ μετὰ τοῦτο οὐκέρ' ἀνεκτά. Compare *Pro Imag.* 2: μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε οἱ ἔπαινοι ἀνεκτοί . . . τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦτο ἀλλότριον ἤδη; similarly with φορητά in *De Merc. Cond.* 36 and *Quom. Hist. Conscr.* 24.

As. 6, τί γέλῳ; Lucian is fond of using this exclamation as here by way of announcing a sudden and generally unexpected laugh on the part of the listener (cf. *quid rides?* in Horace's first satire). I have noted eight examples in Lucian,<sup>1</sup> exclusive of τί δ' οὖν ἐμειδίαςας in *Jup. Conf.* 4; elsewhere none.

According to Guttentag,<sup>2</sup> parenthetical clauses, of which there are six in the *Asinus*, are more frequent in Lucian than in any other ancient author; and my own observation leads me to believe that this statement is not much exaggerated. For the parenthetical question, which is quite unusual, compare As. 31: τὸ δέ—τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἐδύνατο;—εἰθὺς ἀνάπτεται, with *D. Meret.* 4. 5: ἡκέ μοι—τί πλέον;—ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπώδῃς ἀγόμενος; similarly, *Timon* 8.

As. 6: οὐ κατακάμυατι μὰ Δί' ἀλλὰ ὄλω ἐμπρησμῶ. For this style of expression compare *De Merc. Cond.* 33: οὐ χελιδόνα μὰ Δί' ἀλλὰ γῦπα; *Apol.* 1: οὐχ ὑπὲρ Ἑλένης μὰ Δία . . . ἀλλά; and so in six other Lucianic passages.

As. 11: τοῦτο δὲ οὐ παρ' ἐτέρου μαθὼν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῆς ἐμμαντοῦ ψυχῆς λαβὼν οἶδα. Compare *Philops.* 33: αὐτὸς παθὼν, οὐ παρ' ἄλλου ἀκούσας; *Tox.* 12: ἡ αὐτὸς εἰδὼς ἢ παρ' ἄλλων; and similarly in *V.H.* i. 3 and 4, [*De Salt.* 24].

As. 45: ὁ ἀγέρωχος καὶ πάντα περιεργος ἐγώ.<sup>3</sup> Compare *Abd.* 3: ὁ γὰρ δυσάγωγος καὶ δυσπειθὴς ἐγώ.

<sup>1</sup> Statistics regarding Lucianic idioms, etc., are reckoned on the basis of all the writings except those bracketed in Jacobitz and the following: *Demosthenis Encomium*, *Ocyrus*, *Tragopodagra*, *Epigrammata*, *Soloeicista*, *Cynicus*, *Patriae Encomium*, *De Saltatione*, *De Parasito*, *De Syria Dea*. Although I believe that a number of these works are genuine, I have excluded them because their authenticity has been questioned with some show of plausibility.

<sup>2</sup> *De subdito qui inter Lucianos legi solet dialogue Tozaride*, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Apuleius (ix. 42) has "curiosus alioquin et inquieti procacitate praeditus asinus . . . prospicere gestio," which is as close as the Latin could come.

As. 30: καὶ ὅλως ἔργον ἦν τῷ δηλᾶτη τῷ ἐμῷ ἀποκτενεῖν με. Compare *De Domo* 19: καὶ ὅλως τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἐδεῖτο, etc. ὅλως, used thus in summing up, generally at the end of a series, is very frequent in Lucian, sixty times according to my count. Aristides is also fond of it; but in the other writers we find it only once or twice and at long intervals.

As. 2: σὺ δὲ τίς ἢ τί βουλόμενος πυνθάνη; Neukamm (p. 102) compares *D. Deor.* 20. 7; more to the point, however, are *Timon* 34: τίνες ἐστέ, ὦ κατάραιοι, ἢ τί βουλόμενοι δεῦρο ἤκετε; *Catapl.* 3: τίς δ' ἐστίν; ἢ τί βουλόμενος ἀπεδίδρασκε; and *D. Mort.* 23. 1. Among other late writers I find this formula only in the *Erotici*, where there are four parallels in as many different writers; but in all these cases the connective is καί, and not ἢ as in Lucian.

Lucian's brand of irony as exemplified in the *Asinus* will bear further illustration than Neukamm has given it. Compare As. 33: οἱ μὲν . . . ἐπὶ τὸν σύμβουλον ὡς εὖ λέγει, ἐγὼ δέ, with *Philops.* 7-8: ἐπὶ τὸν παρὸντες ὡς εὖ εἰπόντος τοῦ Δίβου. ἐγὼ δέ. For the ironical *γενναῖος*, so familiar in Lucian, cf. As. 47, οἱ δὲ *γενναῖοι*, said of the cooks. With As. 56, τὴν γῆν γυμνὴν περιλαβὼν ταύτην συνεκάθει, compare *Gall.* 22: τῇ βελτίστῃ πενίᾳ προσφιλοσοφῶν. As. 32, τοῦ καλοῦ τούτου ἐραστοῦ, recalls *Timon* 41, οὕτω καλὸν ἐραστήν (*Danaë's* shower of gold), and *D. Marin.* i. 1, καλὸν ἐραστήν (*Polyphemos*).

Certain verbal correspondences are noteworthy (cf. *supra*):

As. 40: κἀγὼ μὲν ᾧ μὲν κομψόν τι τοῦτο.

Alex. 56: κἀγὼ μὲν ᾧ μὲν ἀπλοῦν τι τοῦτο.

As. 15: ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὄνος ἤμην.

Jup. Trag. 24: ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὑποβρύχιός εἰμι.

As. 13: καὶ αὐτῷ δὴ τῷ σχήματι.

Herm. 86: καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ σχῆμα.<sup>1</sup>

As. 4: τί οὖν οὐχί, etc. *D. Deor.* xx. 10: τί οὖν οὐχί, and so exactly in six other passages of Lucian.

As. 4: ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν, ἔφην, πολλὴ χάρις, αἰδοῦμαι δέ.

*Timon.* 36: ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν, ὦ Ἑρμῇ, καὶ τῷ Διὶ πλείστη χάρις, τουτονὶ δέ.

<sup>1</sup> Neukamm (p. 71) observes that the combination καὶ δὴ, though rare in other late writers, occurs thirty-seven times in Lucian. He finds it in five other late writers, but never, as in Lucian, separated by an intervening word (cf. καὶ τότε δὴ in *As.* 35).

As. 7: *κάπειδ᾽ ἀφίκετό ποτε ὁ Ἰππαρχος, λουσάμενοι ἐδειπνοῦμεν*. Compare Gall. 9: *κάπειδ᾽ ὁ καιρὸς ἀφίκετο, πρὸς τάχος ἐμαντὸν ἀπορρήψας ἄπειμι* (i.e., to dinner). It is characteristic of Lucian to mention bathing on every plausible occasion, even when it contributes little or nothing to the subject at hand. In many cases, *λουσάμενος* is a mere verbal appendage; compare *Timon* 54, *ἐπειδὴ λουσάμενος ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον*; similarly in *Navig.* 22, *Gall.* 7, and six other passages; occasionally also with other participles. The bath of the robbers is described in As. 20, though nothing is said of the long banquet that followed; compare also As. 2; *ibid.* 3 (*ἀπῆειμεν λουσόμενοι, λουσάμενοι ἀναστρέφαντες*); *ibid.* 46, 47.

Many phrases and idioms found in the *Asinus* are more common in Lucian than elsewhere:

As. 25: *τῆς παρθένου γενόμενον ὑπηρέτην καὶ διάκονον*. Compare *Alex.* 5: *ὑπηρέτη καὶ διακόνῳ χρώμενος*; *Jur. Conf.* 11: *ὑπηρεταὶ καὶ διάκονοί τινες*; separated in *D. Mort.* xxx. 2-3; compare *ὑπηρετεὶ καὶ διακονεῖτο*, *Philops* 35.<sup>1</sup>

As. 4: *φυλάττον . . . πάση μηχανῇ*. Compare *D. Mort.* xi. 4: *πάση μηχανῇ ἐφύλαττον*; *Lex.* 20; *βοηθητέα . . . πάση μηχανῇ*. Though familiar in old Attic, like several other phrases here cited, *πάση μηχανῇ* is not found in any of the later writers that I have examined.

As. 25: *τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλ' ὅσα πείσεται . . . ἐὼ λέγειν*. Compare *Ep. Cron.* 29: *ἐὼ λέγειν ὅσα ἄλλα λυπεῖ αὐτούς*; *D. Mort.* xiv. 4: *ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν ὅσα ἄλλα ἐπραξας*. *ἐὼ λέγειν* occurs altogether fourteen times in Lucian. The only other examples that I can find are in Aristides (six) and Maximus (two).

As. 34: *περὶ δείλην ὄψιν*. Lucian uses this phrase six times; but elsewhere among post-Attic writers I have looked for it in vain.

As. 46: *τοῖς παρακειμένοις κριθίδις μακρὰ χαίρειν λέγων*. Compare *Gall.* 2: *ὁ Ξάνθος μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσας τῷ χρεμετίζειν*. Lucian uses *μ. χ.* with various verbs (including *λέγω*, *Rh. Pr.* 10) in eleven other passages. Among the authors collated Aelian is the only one to use this phrase; he has it three times.

<sup>1</sup> In the passage corresponding to As. 25, Apuleius (vi. 31) has *sequestro ministroque*. This phrase does not chance to occur in any of the authors I have read save Aristides, though there are many equivalents such as *θεραπευτὰς καὶ δηπέρας* (Aelian). Aristides uses a great variety of similar couplets, but only once does he hit upon the combination and order familiar to Lucian.



*As.* 12: πάνν πολλάς; *ibid.* 28: πολλοὶ δὲ πάνν; and so again in 35 and 50. In Lucian we find this combination eleven times, in other late writers very seldom.<sup>1</sup>

*As.* 56: οὐ φθείρη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ; compare ἐκφθείρου in *D. Meret.* xv. 2.

*As.* 38: ὡς ἐς ὕβριν αὐτοὺς βαλόντα; compare *Alex.* 30: ἐς μανίαν . . . ἐνέβαλλον; *Icarom.* 5: εἰς μέζους ἀπορίας . . . ἐνέβαλλον; similarly in *Timon* 39 (πράγματα), *Herm.* 50 (ἀπορίας), *ibid.* 19 (ἄφυκτα).

*As.* 31: ὡς παριῶν ἐκὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐνσείσαιμι τῇ ἐστίῃ.<sup>2</sup> Similar expressions in Lucian are *Apol.* 1: ἐκὼν ἑαυτὸν . . . ἐς δουλείαν ἐνσέσεικε; *De Merc. Cond.* 30: εἰς οἶον βάραθρον . . . ἑμαυτὸν ἐνσέσεικα; *D. Deor.* xiv. 2: ἐνσείσε . . . αὐτόν.

*As.* 33: ἐγὼ δὲ ἦδη ἐδάκρυον ὡς ἀπολέσων αὐτίκα τὸν ἐν τῷ ὄνῳ ἄνδρα, καὶ ζῆν οὐκέτι ἔθελειν ἔφην, εἰ γενοίμην εἰνοῦχος. This use of φημί (or λέγω) in the sense of *thinking* is familiarly Homeric, e.g., B 37. We have the same peculiarity in *As.* 23 with εἰπὼν, and in *ibid.* 56 with λέγων. In other authors I can find no parallels, but Lucian has this idiom twice; compare *Philops.* 29: κἀγὼ μὲν ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν ἀνέπνευσσα, τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο ἦκειν μοι νομίσας, πέλεκύν τινα κατὰ τῶν ψευσμάτων ἐπιστομῇ γὰρ αὐτοὺς, ἔλεγον, ὁ σοφὸς ἀνὴρ οὕτω τεράστια διεξιόντας; likewise ἔλεγον in *D. Meret.* x. 2.

It is true that we miss in the *Asinus* a number of the most conspicuous of Lucian's mannerisms, such as πλὴν ἀλλά, ἢ καὶ νῆ Δία, etc.; but this circumstance, in so far as it is not incidental, is probably due to the objective character of the subject matter. The *Vera Historia* shows the same peculiarity.<sup>3</sup> The style of the *Asinus*, unlike that of

<sup>1</sup> The five erotic novelists together furnish only one example; Aristides, three; Maximus, one; and Aristaenetus, one.

<sup>2</sup> Apuleius vii. 20 has "adfirmavit me sponte vicinorum foculos transeuntem titubanti gradu prolapsus."

<sup>3</sup> I append a list of thirty of the most characteristic Lucianic expressions which are not found in the *Vera Historia*. The figure following each phrase indicates the number of times it occurs, according to my count, in the other works of Lucian.

μᾶλλον δὲ, introducing an afterthought, 111 (so *As.* 11); πλὴν ἀλλά, 79; ἢ καὶ νῆ Δία, 17; ἐκτός ἐί μή, 12; ἐν βραχεί, 32; αὐτίκα μάλα, 31; ὡς ἀληθῶς, 45; τοῦτό (οὗτός, αὕτη) γε at the end of a clause, 23 (cf. *As.* 31, *ad fin.*); οὐ μετρίως, 26; οὐ μὲν οὖν, 20; πέρα τοῦ μετρίου (μέτρου), 9; εὐ ἴσθι, 22 (*As.* 5, 25); εἰκότως, by itself, generally at the end of a clause, 21; οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως (or ὅπου, ὅτι, ὅθεν), 60 (*As.* 13, 32); εὐ ποῶν, 'wisely,' generally at the end of a clause, 13; οὐκ ἐς μακράν, 17; οὐκ (οὐδέν) ἀγενής, 10; εὐ μάλα, 19 (*As.* 25, 31, 40); εὖ λέγειν, 14 (cf. *supra*); ὀρέ; colloquial, 17 (*As.* 35); τί τοῦτο; 31; μεταξὺ with participle, 38; ἐν ἀκαρεῖ, with or without, τοῦ χρόνου, 11 (*As.* 37, rare); οὐκ ὅπως = *nedum*, 17 (*As.* 43, rare); οὐκ ἂν εἴποις, 10; οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον, 12; εἰρήσεται γάρ parenthetical, 7; τί ἂν πάθου(ς) 9; ἔξαρος γίγνεσθαι (or εἶναι), 8; καθίκετο + genitive of the person, 7. This list could easily be extended.

Lucian's acknowledged imitators, is not modeled after the dialogues or sophistic essays, but is independent and adapted to the subject matter; and this very difference, which has misled some critics into supposing that the *Asinus* is not Lucianic, constitutes the strongest argument against regarding it as an imitation. Indeed, so far as I know, no one has ever contended that the *Asinus* is an imitation. On the contrary, the Lucianic peculiarities which we find in the text are spontaneous and natural; they are woven closely into the context and substance of the story at every point, and they show not the slightest trace of that pedantic striving for effect which is patent not only in the imitators of Lucian but in most of the other Greek novels.

Turning again to the evidence for Lucianic authorship, I wish to add a few considerations of a more general nature, nearly all of which apply to Apuleius' version of the story as well as to the *Asinus*, to wit, that the *περιεργία* which actuates Lucius and brings about his adventures is also a leading motif in the *Vera Historia*;<sup>1</sup> that Lucian is very fond of comparing men to asses;<sup>2</sup> that the fact of the protagonist being a prominent Roman and his brother Gaius a prophet<sup>3</sup> reflects a certain anti-Roman prejudice which is manifested by Lucian elsewhere, especially in the *Nigrinus*, the *De Mercede Conductis*, the *Adversus Indoctum*, and the *Alexander*; that Lucian visited Macedonia, where the scene of a large part of the *Luciad* is laid, at least once;<sup>4</sup> that he elsewhere describes the arts of Thessalian witches in much the same way as they are represented in the *Luciad*;<sup>5</sup> that the ironical import of the story as a whole, which, by implication at least, is a burlesque upon marvel-seeking, accords with Lucian's attitude in the *Vera Historia* and *Philopseudes*; and, finally, that the rich variety of

<sup>1</sup> *VH* i. 5: αἰρία δέ μοι τῆς ἀποδημίας καὶ ὑπόθεσις ἡ τῆς διανοίας περιεργία καὶ πραγμάτων καινῶν ἐπιθυμία καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν, etc.

<sup>2</sup> So in *Fugit.* 13, 14, 33; and eleven other passages. Likewise Lucian often compares men to apes, as in *As.* 56; see *Adv. Ind.* 4, *Piscat.* 32, etc. (ten times).

<sup>3</sup> *As.* 55. Lucius and Gaius are strange names for fiction. In all other ancient romances the leading characters are Greek, as are the subordinate characters in the *Asinus*.

<sup>4</sup> *Hdt.* 7.

<sup>5</sup> *D. Meret.* i. 2: Θετταλὰς τινὰς ᾧδὰς ἐπισταμένη . . . φασὶ δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ πέρεσθαι τῇς νυκτός (like the wife of Hipparchus in *As.* 12-13; *Ap.* iii. 21). For other references to Thessalian witches, and particularly their method of fetching delinquent lovers by operating upon their hairs, as in the original version of the *Luciad* (*Ap.* iii. 16; cf. *A.J.P.* XLVI, 255 f.), see *D. Meret.* iv. 1 and 4. Mention is made of persons flying in *As.* 4, *πετόμενον ἀνθρώπων*; *Philops.* 13, *πετόμενον τῶν ξένων*; *Herm.* 71, *Navig.* 42.

metaphors and similes in the *Asinus*, as well as the many brilliant conceits, make it altogether worthy of Lucian's able pen.

To judge intelligently concerning the authenticity of the *Asinus*, one must take into account, not only the data herein mentioned, but likewise the whole of Neukamm's dissertation. If this evidence is sufficient to establish the validity of the manuscript tradition, then it follows with certainty that Lucian was the author, either of both the Greek versions or, as I think much more probable, of the original *Μεταμορφώσεις* only.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The *Asinus* may owe its presence in the manuscripts of Lucian to the fact that it is an abridgment of the author's original composition, the *Μεταμορφώσεις*. In the same way, the manuscripts of Xenophon of Ephesus have preserved to us, without any indication of the fact, only an epitome of the original novel mentioned by Suidas under his name; and likewise in the case of Aelian's *Varia Historia*. As for the change in title, it may be recalled that Iamblichus' novel is cited by Photius under the title *Δραματικόν* in a version which was to all appearances complete in sixteen books (*Bibl.* 94, *ad fin.*); whereas Suidas cites the same novel under the title *Βαβυλωνιακά*, and says that it contained thirty-nine books. Note also the two titles given to Apuleius' work, *Metamorphoses* in the manuscripts, but *Asinus Aureus*, according to Augustine. I believe that it was because the author of the *Asinus* omitted certain important motivating incidents that he changed the title in his abridgment; see my remarks in *TAPA*, LIV, 225-26.

## CENTAURS AND MACEDONIAN KINGS

By E. H. STURTEVANT

In recent years it has come to be generally recognized that a considerable proportion of the Greek vocabulary was borrowed from neighboring communities of Aegean, Illyrian, or Thracian-Phrygian nationality. It is time to examine afresh all Greek words for which no satisfactory etymology has been found, on the chance that we may discover indications of a foreign source.

One such word is *Κένταυρος*, for which Kretschmer<sup>1</sup> has recently tried, without success I fear, to find a Greek etymology. Kretschmer summarily dismisses Kuhn's phonetically impossible identification of the word with Sanskrit *Gandharva*. On semantic grounds he rejects the ancient derivation from *κεντεῖν* and *ταῦρος*; for there is no indication either in literature or in art that the Centaurs were cow-punchers.

Kretschmer's own derivation from *κεντεῖν* and *αὔρα* is scarcely more satisfactory. His interpretation of *αὔρα* as *Feuchtigkeit, Wasser* is plausible enough; but what is a "water-puncher"? Kretschmer lays stress on the name of the spring-nymph *Πληξαύρη*,<sup>2</sup> which is said to be an exact feminine synonym for *Κένταυρος*. Quite possibly *πλήσσειν* and *κεντεῖν* may be regarded as synonyms in certain contexts and even in some conceivable pairs of compounds (e.g., *πλήξιππος* and \**κέντιππος*), but *Πληξαύρη* was, in Kretschmer's opinion, so named *weil sie durch Schlagen des Wassers das Sprudeln und Schäumen der Quelle hervorruft*, and *κεντεῖν* could not be used in this sense.

The principal objection to Kretschmer's etymology is that it substitutes for the recorded myth a mere conjecture as to the original nature of the Centaurs. There is no basis in our sources for Roscher's<sup>3</sup> suggestion that they were sprites of the mountain torrents, or for Wilamowitz<sup>4</sup> identification of them with the Sileni. As far as our information goes, the ancients always connected the name *Κένταυρος* with a quadruped having the trunk, arms, and head of a man, combined with the body of a horse. This shape is not definitely required

<sup>1</sup> *Glotta*, X, 50-58.

<sup>3</sup> *Lexicon*, II, 1060 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, *Theog.* 353.

<sup>4</sup> *Herakles*<sup>2</sup>, II, 89 f.

by the Homeric references to the Centaurs; but Homer says nothing inconsistent with the later and fuller accounts. Furthermore, he clearly gives the creatures certain human characteristics, while sharply distinguishing them from men. They are guests of Pirithous; they do battle with the Lapithae; one of them was the teacher of Achilles. We should search in vain for so thorough a humanization of Sileni or Satyrs. On the other hand, Homer calls the Centaurs *φῆρες ὄρεσκόφιοι* and *φῆρες λαχνηέντες*, and they are explicitly contrasted with men in *Odyssey* xxi. 303:

ἐξ οὗ Κενταύροις καὶ ἀνδράσι νέικος ἐτύχθη.

As has been shown by Baur,<sup>1</sup> the earliest known artistic representations of Centaurs have been found in Babylonia, and the earliest Greek artists followed Oriental models in depicting these creatures. No one supposes, however, that the name *Κένταυρος* is Oriental, and Baur's suggestion that the Greek myth grew up around the borrowed artistic motive fails to explain the localization of the Centaurs in Thessaly. Furthermore, it is remarkable that the Greeks always identified these Oriental man-headed horses with the Centaurs rather than with the Sileni, which, according to Wilamowitz, would have served as well. We must assume a Greek myth concerning horses having the upper parts of men, which led the Ionic artists to adopt these particular monsters while neglecting so many other grotesque fancies of their Oriental teachers.

We therefore need an etymology which shall take due account of the form of the Centaurs. Assuming that the fancy sprang up on account of the apparent unity of horse and rider, we must turn to some neighbors of the Greeks who made large use of the horse. The provenience of the myth leads us at once to the Thracians, than whom the ancient world knew no better horsemen.

Our knowledge of the Thracian language is almost confined to glosses and names of persons and places. These have been collected by Tomaschek, the glosses in *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, Volume CXXX (1894), Part II, and the personal and local names in Volume CXXXI, Part I, of the same publication. Kretschmer's discussion of the Thracian and the closely related Phrygian languages in his

<sup>1</sup> *Centaurs in Ancient Art, The Ancient Period, passim*, espec. 135 ff.

*Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, pages 171–243, is of the utmost importance. The single known inscription was published by Filow in *Berichten der bulgarischen archeologischen Gesellschaft*, III, 202–23, and by Kretschmer in *Glotta*, VI, 74–79. An interpretation was suggested by Detschew, *ibid.*, VII, 81–86, and another by Kretschmer, *ibid.*, pages 86–92.

The Thracian personal names are for the most part compounds like those of the Indo-Iranians and of the ancient Greeks, Celts, Germans, and Slavs. By a fortunate chance, two of the half-dozen most common elements of these compounds would, if combined, yield our word *Kéntavros*. *Κεντ-* or *Κενθ-* appears in the personal names *Aulu-centus*, *Aulu-centius*, *Epta-centius*, *Ἑπτai-κενθος*, *Bithi-centhus*, *Biti-centus*, *Βουρ(ι)-κεντιος*, *Μαρ(ι)-κεντιος*, *Rabo-centus*, *Διαι-κενθος*, *Diza-centus*, *Trai-centhus*, *Τρι-κεντως*, *Zeli-centius*, *Zipa-centhus*, *Ξηνα-κενθος*, *Sudi-centhius*, and *Κενθος*, and in the name of the Thracian tribe *Σατρο-κενται*.

Tomaschek (p. 3) is surely right in reading *β* as *f* in the personal names *Ἀβρο-ζελμης*, *Ἀβρου-πολις*, and in *Ἀβρο-λεβα*, the name of a plateau among the peaks of Haemus. We may add the personal name *Ἀβρο-τονον*. On account of the similarity of the name *Ἀλλου-ζελμης* to *Ἀβρο-ζελμης* and of *Ἄλλου-πορις*, *Aulu-por*, to *Ἀβρου-πολις*, Tomaschek assumes that *ἀβρο(ν)-* and *ἀλο(ν)-* are different forms of the same Thracian word. The identification is rendered practically certain by the fact that of two Thracian kinsmen one is called *Aurotra* and the other *Aulutra* in an inscription from Moguntia in Upper Germany: "Aurotrae Biti tesserario leg. XXII p. p. f. civi Tra . . . li stipendiorum XV Aulutra Biti heres eius f(aciendum) c(uravit)."<sup>1</sup> The stem-form with *l* appears also in *Ἀλλου-ζενης*, *Ἀλο-ζανος*, *Αιλιζανος*, *Aulu-centus*, *Aulu-centius*, *Aulu-renus*, *Ἀλλου-τραλις*, *Ἀδλου-κραμης*. For our present purpose, however, it makes little difference whether the stem with *l* belongs here or not. It is the stem with *r* in which we are interested.

Kretschmer<sup>2</sup> has shown that Thracian *r* may become *l* by dissimilation, as in *Ῥασκουπολις* = *Ῥησκουπορις*. This process will account for the change of *r* to *l* in a majority of the foregoing names. Particularly interesting is the pair *Ἀβρουπολις* and *Ἄλλουπορις* or *Aulupor*, in

<sup>1</sup> *CIL*, XIII, 6955.

<sup>2</sup> *Einleitung*, pp. 184 f.

which we see the two possible ways of avoiding the etymologically required repetition of *r* (\*'Αβρουπορις). To account for Αύλουζελμυς, Αύλουζενης, Αύλοζανος, *Auluzanos*, *Aulucentus*, and *Aulucentius*, we must suppose that when once the form *aulu-* had become familiar, as the result of frequent dissimilation, it was employed even in composition with stems that contained no *r*. The alternative would be to start with the stem *aulu-*, and to regard *avro-* as due to dissimilation before a following *l*. In this way we could explain all the forms except 'Αβρουπολις, which, as Kretschmer has shown, contains original -πορις. The change of Αύλουπορις to 'Αβρουπολις is so improbable that we may safely follow Tomaschek in assuming *avro-* as the original form of the stem.

Tomaschek observed that, since φίλος is extremely common as an element of Greek names, we should expect to find a stem of that meaning in Thracian names, and that the meaning of φίλος would fit very well in several of the compounds containing the stem κεντ-, κενθ-. He therefore suggested an etymological connection between this stem and Sanskrit *kamati*, "loves"; *kāmas*, "love," etc. In view of the probable close relationship of Armenian with Thracian-Phrygian, the appearance of the root with suffixed *t* in *χand*, "desire," etc., is particularly significant. It may be objected that the vocalism is against the etymology. Thracian κεντ- demands Indo-European *e* or *ē*, while Armenian *χand* cannot come from either; it pre-supposes Indo-European *ā* or *a*. Two roots with the same or similar meaning seem to have been fused together; we must assume *qā* for Latin *cārus*, Goth. *hōrs*, and Sanskrit *kāmas*, while *qē* is required by Sanskrit *cāruṣ*, "lovely," *cāyuṣ*, "desirous," and Thracian κεντ-. Armenian *χand* may contain either *qā* or *qə* (for *χ*, cf. *σαχ*: Lat. *socius*).

Tomaschek's etymology is certainly to be preferred to Kretschmer's<sup>1</sup> connection with Irish *cét*, "first" and the prior member of the Gallic name *Cintu-gnatus*. The meaning "first" is appropriate for the prior member of a compound personal name, but it is considerably less natural as second member. Greek *πρῶτος* is prior member of Πρώταρχος, Πρώτιππος, Πρωτογένης, Πρωτότιμος, Πρωτομένης, Πρωτοφάνης, and several other names, but it seems not to occur as the

<sup>1</sup> *Einleitung*, p. 239.



second member of any compound name. The situation is similar in Sanskrit.

The stem *avro-*, *aulu-*, is probably the name of an animal, since it is compounded with a stem (*ζελμ-*) whose meaning is given in a gloss as "hide." The animal most likely to figure in the names of the Thracian horsemen (*ιπποπόλοι* in Homer, *φιλιπποι* in tragedy) is the horse; and the meaning "horse" fits admirably in those compound names in which the meaning of the other member is known. Tomaschek lays particular stress upon the name *Αδλου-κραμυς*, whose second member he connects with Greek *κρέμαμαι* and Gothic *hramjan*, "crucify"; but it may be doubted whether "hung on a horse" is just the meaning we want. A better connection would be with Sanskrit *kramati*, "strides," so that *Αδλουκραμυς* would mean "horse-traveler," or more precisely, "moving in a rapid and impressive manner by means of a horse."

Tomaschek considers Thracian *avro-* to be a cognate of Sanskrit *árvan*, *árvant*, and Avestan *aurva-*, *aurvañt*, "runner, swift." There are two weaknesses in the etymology; Aryan *a* in these words represents Indo-European *o*, which is regularly retained in Thracian,<sup>1</sup> and it is necessary to assume metathesis of *r* and *v* (*\*arvo-* > *avro-*). Much more likely is Tomaschek's second suggestion that the word was borrowed from Iranian neighbors of the Thracians. Avestan *aurva-*, *aurvañt*, is strikingly similar in form to Thracian *avro-*, *avrū-*, and the Avestan word applies so frequently to the horse that it might easily come to mean "horse." Kretschmer<sup>2</sup> points out several names of Iranian origin occurring where Thracian names might be expected. Especially in point are *Παιρισαδης* and *Παιρισαλος*, which show the epenthesis that is exemplified also by Avestan *aurva-*.

It appears, then, that *Κένταυρος* is a Thracian word, equivalent to Greek *Φίλιππος*. Precisely this compound does not occur among the known Thracian names; but *Aulucentus*<sup>3</sup> is equivalent to *Ἰππόφιλος*. In view of the Greek custom of inverting proper names (*Ἰππαρχος*: *Ἀρχιππος*, *Ξερόφιλος*: *Φιλόξενος*), it is reasonable to anticipate the

<sup>1</sup> Kretschmer, *ibid.*, pp. 220 ff.; *Glotta*, VII, 87 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Einleitung*, pp. 214 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *AVIVCCNTVS*, *CIL*, III, 4378.

discovery of a Thracian name of some such form as \*Κενθαβρος or Κενταυρος.

If the Centaurs of Thessaly got their name from Thrace, that name was probably known in the intermediate district of Macedon. The question, therefore, arises whether we should not regard the name Φίλιππος in the Macedonian royal family as a translation of Κένταυρος. There is still a strong probability, in spite of Hatzidakis, Otto Hoffmann,<sup>1</sup> and others, that the ancients were right in thinking the Macedonians barbarians. The scanty remnants of Macedonian speech are scarcely extensive enough to settle the question, particularly since, on any theory, a large proportion of the known words must be considered loans. Those who regard the Macedonians as barbarians hold that the words of indubitably Greek origin were borrowed from southern neighbors; while the words of Thracian or Illyrian appearance must have been brought in from the north or the west if the Macedonians were Greeks.

The one thoroughly established phonetic peculiarity of Macedonian, the use of voiced non-aspirates for Indo-European voiced aspirates (Indo-European *bh*, *dh* = Macedonian *b*, *d* = Greek *φ*, *θ*), separates that language from Greek and ranges it with Thracian, Phrygian, and Illyrian; but not even this phonetic law is free from difficulty. If we assume that the Macedonian kings translated a Macedonian name Κένταυρος into Greek as Φίλιππος, how shall we account for the Macedonian form, Βίλιππος, which is recorded by the grammarians? We read: τὸ β τῷ φ συγγενές ἐστι. δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ Μακεδόνας μὲν Φίλιππον Βίλιππον καλεῖν.<sup>2</sup> The obvious answer is that Βίλιππος represents the imperfect articulation of Φίλιππος by those Macedonians who had not mastered the Greek aspirates. The difficulty lies in the fact that they represented *φ* by *b* instead of by *p*, as the early Romans did (*Pilipus*), and as the Thracians did when they translated Φιλιππόπολις as *Pulpudeva* (*deva* is Thracian for πόλις).

To find a solution we must suppose that in Macedonian *b* and *d* were slightly aspirated while *p* and *t* were not. That is, these four Macedonian sounds were similar, respectively, to Greek β, δ, π, and

<sup>1</sup> Hatzidakis, *Zur Abstammung der alten Makedonier* = *Ἀθηνᾶ*, VIII, 1-62; Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*.

<sup>2</sup> *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 179, 17.

τ; for in Greek the voiced mutes were, in the matter of aspiration, nearer to the aspirates than were π and τ.<sup>1</sup> Since Macedonian had no strongly aspirated sounds, like Greek φ and θ, the tendency was for them to substitute their slightly aspirated b and d. The Romans, on the other hand, pronounced b and d without aspiration, and consequently represented Greek φ, θ, and χ by p, t, and c. Similarly, the Thracians who changed Φιλιππόπολις to *Pulpudeva* probably pronounced b with no more aspiration than p. This word, however, is not quotable before the sixth century A.D.; very likely Thracian b and d had as much aspiration as the corresponding Macedonian and Greek sounds in the fifth century B.C.<sup>2</sup>

There is, then, a certain plausibility in the supposition that the royal name Φίλιππος is a translation of Thracian-Macedonian Κένταυρος. This can be converted into a virtual certainty, I think, if we can cite instances of a similar procedure in Macedonia.

We shall begin with a quotation from Kretschmer:

\*Εδεσσα, die alte Residenz der makedonischen Könige wurde in Αἰγαί umgetauft, eine—sei es nun echtmakedonische, sei es griechische—Uebersetzung des alten Namens, denn \*Εδεσσα von phryg. βεδν d.i. φεδν "Wasser" bedeutete "Wasserstadt" oder "Flussstadt" und Αἰγαί, zu dor. Αἴγες· κύματα [Hesych.] gehörig, hatte ungefähr dieselbe Bedeutung.<sup>3</sup>

That it was a translation into Greek rather than into Macedonian follows from the fact that the word φεδν was Macedonian as well as Phrygian and Thracian. Clement of Alexandria says: . . . ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Νεάνθης γράφων τοὺς Μακεδόνων ἱερεῖς ἐν ταῖς κατευχαῖς βεδν κατακαλεῖν ἴλεω αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύουσιν ἄερα.<sup>4</sup> The definition is incorrect, or at least incomplete, since φεδν is the same word as Greek ὕδωρ, Anglo-Saxon *wæter*, etc. Evidently the priests prayed for rain, and the deity invoked may have been conceived of as

<sup>1</sup> See my *Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, pp. 172–84. The treatment there should be emended by cutting out all reference to energy of articulation.

<sup>2</sup> The foregoing is similar to the explanation proposed by Kretschmer (*Einleitung*, p. 288), except that he seems to think of the Macedonian b and d (from Indo-European bh and dh) as strongly aspirated—i.e., similar in point of aspiration to Greek φ and θ rather than to Greek β and δ. Until evidence is found that Macedonian preserved the Indo-European distinction of bh and dh from b and d, it seems safer not to assume strongly aspirated voiced stops in that language.

<sup>3</sup> *Einleitung*, p. 286.

<sup>4</sup> *Stromata* v. 357. 21–23 Stählin = Müller, *FHG*, III, 9, 27.

ruling the waters both in the sky and on earth. Only the former aspect seemed important to Neanthes or his authority.

But one may well ask why the Macedonians did not translate "Ἐδεσσα into more familiar Greek, say "Τόρια or "Τόροπολις. Such a word would have been much clearer both to Greeks and to Macedonians of the period when the translation was done. In fact, the official dialect at the Macedonian court was Attic, and so, it might be inferred, any translation into Greek made by order of the king would be done into that dialect, whereas Αἰγαί was scarcely better as Attic than the old name "Ἐδεσσα.

In translating names, however, the purpose is not to make one's self understood but to avoid a foreign sound. When "Nieuw Amsterdam" became "New York," there was little improvement in meaning, but the undesirable Hollandish associations were avoided. Just so a recent American who changes his name from Schmidt to Smith does not do so in order to inform his neighbors of the occupation of some remote ancestor, but in order to signalize his amalgamation with the American community. The Macedonian kings, therefore, wanted a Greek name for their ancient capital which should be justified in point of meaning, and which should, above all things, be in line with Greek usage; "Τόροπολις would have suggested old and genuine Hellenism as little as "Pittsburg" or "Watertown" suggests medieval England.

Αἰγαί, on the other hand, carried precisely the desired association. It is the name of an ancient city of Achaea, which is mentioned in Homer<sup>1</sup> as a seat of the worship of Poseidon. Herodotus<sup>2</sup> refers to it as Αἰγαί ἐν τῇ Κρᾶθις ποταμὸς αἰεὶ ναὸς ἔστι. Surely no more respectable or appropriate Greek name for a river town could have been discovered! Shall we suppose that a Macedonian king performed so neat a scholarly task, or shall we rather conclude that he employed a learned Greek? Aristotle surely was not the first scholar to adorn the Macedonian court.

Now the archaic flavor that we find in the name Αἰγαί appears also in many of the personal names of the Macedonian royalty and nobility. A partial list of such names follows—most of them occur in Homer, and the rest, save one, in early myths: Ἀέροπος, Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀντίοχος, Ἀρσινόη, Εὐρυδίκη, Κάσσανδρος, Κλεοπάτρα, Μελέ-

<sup>1</sup> II. viii. 203.

<sup>2</sup> i. 145.

αγρος, Μενέλαος, Ὀρέστης, Πολυδάμας, Πτολεμαῖος, Τήλεφος, Τληπόλεμος.

Wilamowitz says by way of explanation:

Man wählt die litterarisch berühmten Hellenennamen seit alter zeit und jetzt nur mehr, entsprechend der steigenden Bekanntschaft mit der Litteratur. Ἀλέξανδρος, Κάσσανδρος etc. sind solche Namen, welche lediglich für die Sucht der Eltern zeugen, mit griechischen Bildung zu prunken.<sup>1</sup>

That the theory cannot be maintained in just this form is obvious.<sup>2</sup> If a Macedonian king had cared to name his son for a Trojan hero he would never have chosen Alexander, and what shall we say of a father who would have named his son Κάσσανδρος after that pathetic girl Κασσάνδρα? In fact, the great characters of mythology are rarely represented by Macedonian personal names; we find no Achilles, or Agamemnon, or Hector, or Andromache, or Penelope, or Helena.

Even less probable is Hoffmann's opinion that a large part of these names had remained in common use among the Macedonian princes from Homeric times, although they had ceased to be employed elsewhere. If we could admit the Hellenic speech of the Macedonians, we might be prepared to expect a few archaic names to have survived among them, but surely not so many.

I cannot account for the prevalence of obscure mythologic names among the Macedonians except on the supposition that the native personal names were subjected to the same treatment which turned Ἐδεσσα into Αἰγαί. That is, the meaning of the Macedonian name was kept, but great care was taken to make the new name appear to be genuine Greek. Whereas a translation into Attic Greek of the fifth century would have yielded such monstrous names as Νεφέλοβλεπτικός, Ἀντιστάτης, or Ὑψηλοθύμη, we find Ἀέροπος, Ἀντίοχος, and Ἀρσινόη.<sup>3</sup>

Occasionally an obvious translation gave a name that was more or less familiar in classical times, as in the case of Φίλιππος and Ἀντίπατρος. Στρατονίκη (the name of a sister of Perdicas II) was not,

<sup>1</sup> *Herakles*<sup>2</sup>, I, 11 Anm.

<sup>2</sup> See Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, pp. 119 f.

<sup>3</sup> As long as we are ignorant of the precise form and meaning of the original Macedonian names, we cannot, of course, be certain in any specific case of the literal Greek translation of it; but there can be no doubt that unskilled translation would have produced names as unhellenic as those suggested in the text.

to be sure, a familiar Greek name in the fifth century; but *Νικόστρατος* and *Νικοστράτη* were fairly common, and they served to make the inverse form plausible.

In case the form of a name varied from dialect to dialect, the royal family chose the form which harmonized best with their claim to an ancient Argive origin, except that women's names of the first declension might end in *η*. In spite of the use of the Attic dialect at the Macedonian court, they preferred the non-Attic forms *Ἀλκέτας*, *Ἀμύντας*, *Περδίκκας*, etc.<sup>1</sup> No doubt the reason why *Ὀρέστης* appears with Attic-Ionic *η* is that the name was known in that form from the epic; in fact, it is quite possible that the hero was known as *Ὀρέστης* even in such places as Delphi, where *Ὀρέστας* was a familiar personal name. Particularly instructive are the names *Ἀρχέλαος* and *Μενέλαος*. The Attic-Ionic forms *Ἀρχέλεως* and *Μενέλεως* never occur. *Ἀρχέλας*, with the contraction regular in the fifth century in all other dialects, is the name given to the son of Perdiccas II on the stone which records the treaty of 423 B.C. with Athens.<sup>2</sup> This was probably the familiar form of the name; but the more formal name, assumed upon ascending the throne, was *Ἀρχέλαος*.<sup>3</sup> This was no doubt chosen under the influence of such epic names as *Μενέλαος*, *Ἀγέλαος*, *Πρωτεσίλαος*, and *Σθενέλαος*.

For one reason or another some names escaped translation. The name *Ὀρέστης* was probably connected originally in some way with the name of the *Ὀρέσται* of Upper Macedonia, and it was retained unchanged (except for the ending—see above) because it happened to coincide with the name of an Argive hero. It is not, however, impossible that *Ὀρέστης* is a translation of a name meaning "mountaineer." *Περδίκκας*, the name of the founder of the dynasty, is not quotable except from Macedonian and Hellenistic sources. Hoffmann<sup>4</sup> regards it as a nickname for *\*Περιδίκαιος*; but that etymology is possible only if we assume that the word developed in a Greek-speaking community, and it is not very plausible even so. Surely a translator who was trying to make over the ancient founder of the kingdom into a Greek would never have hit upon such a form.

<sup>1</sup> The use of such names by the Macedonians must have contributed powerfully to the survival and spread of the type in Hellenistic times.

<sup>2</sup> *IG*, I, 42b.

<sup>3</sup> So Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 131 f.

Other names in the royal family which can scarcely be translations are Γανάνης, the name of the brother of the first Perdiccas, and Ἀργαῖος, the name of his son and successor. Equally impossible as a translation is Ἀγερρος, the name of a nephew of Perdiccas II. It is to be noted, however, that the four names just mentioned are similar enough to Greek names so that they would not shock Greek taste. They probably seemed to need translation less than most Macedonian names. A few more barbarous-sounding examples of these have been preserved in the fragments of the inscription already referred to which records the treaty concluded between Athens and Perdiccas II in 423 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Among the names of less important Macedonians there mentioned are Βυργίνος, Γαιτέας, Ἡθαρος, and Θύνος. No such names as these were allowed to remain in the royal pedigree or in the families of the nobles of later centuries.

The task of translation was not always performed with equal skill. The name Λάγος for \*Λάαγος scarcely has the Hellenic ring; Ἀγέλαος would have been much better.

Apparently the name Ἀλέξανδρος, thenceforth a favorite, was not hit upon until the third attempt. Kretschmer calls attention to the semantic equivalence of the name Alexander with those of the father and grandfather of the first bearer of it:

Wie in der griechischen Familie bekanntlich der Name des Grossvaters oder des Vaters oft wiederholt wurde, so berührt sich der Name der ersten Ἀλέξανδρος mit dem seines Grossvaters Ἀλκέτας [ἀλκή: ἀλέξω], in der Bedeutung auch mit dem seines Vaters Ἀμύντας I [ἀμύνω: ἀλέξω].<sup>2</sup>

But in the Greek family we find the self-same name repeated; Καλλίας, son of Ἰππόνικος, named his son Ἰππόνικος. We do, to be sure, often find one of the two stems of the father's name used in naming the son (Ἀνδροσθένης and Ἀνδροτέλης, sons of Ἀνδροκλῆς), or else the son's name is an abbreviation of the father's (Ἀγάθων Ἀγαθοκλέους), or vice versa. It certainly was not usual to depart so far from the father's or grandfather's name as in the instance before us, unless a totally different name was chosen. It is much more likely that Ἀλκέτας, Ἀμύντας, and Ἀλέξανδρος had the same name in Macedonian,

<sup>1</sup> *CIG*, I, 42a-d, 43, Suppl. pp. 141 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Gott. gel. Anz.*, CLXXII (1910), 73.



but that three attempts were made to find satisfactory Greek equivalents. All three, no doubt, were correct translations; but 'Αλκέτας and 'Αμύντας were rare names in Greece, and they were quite unknown to the mythology. It was a question, therefore, whether they strengthened the family's claim to Greek ancestry. 'Αλέξανδρος, however, was clearly Hellenic and in long-standing use as a personal name. Now if 'Αλκέτας, 'Αμύντας, and 'Αλέξανδρος are all translations of the same Macedonian name, we must assume that the meaning of the latter included only the semantic element which is common to the three Greek names, namely, the idea of "defender" or "avertor." 'Αλέξανδρος must contain in its second member an amplification of the idea conveyed in the original language; and no doubt that is the reason why this, the most satisfactory of the three Greek names, was not hit upon sooner. We must therefore search for a Macedonian name consisting of a single uncompound stem.

This is, of course, the nature of the name Πάρις, which is translated 'Αλέξανδρος in the *Iliad*.<sup>1</sup> Tomaschek<sup>2</sup> plausibly identifies Πάρις with Thracian *Poris*, and with -πορις, -porus, -por, -πολις, which is a very common final member of Thracian compound names. His derivation of the stem from the root of Greek πείρω, however, is not satisfactory. As Kretschmer<sup>3</sup> remarks, the meanings thus obtained for certain Thracian names ("pig-sticker," "horse-slayer," "slayer of all quadrupeds") are improbable. Scarcely better is Kretschmer's connection of the word with Albanian *pare*, Skt. *para-*, "the first, the best." As we have noted above, Gk. πρῶτος does not appear as final member of compound names. Gk. ἀριστος is found a few times in such names as Νικάριστος, Ξενάριστος, Τιμάριστος, Φιλάριστος; but most of these are plainly inversions of the much more common type,

<sup>1</sup> That the name 'Αλέξανδρος was in use in Asia Minor before the time of the Trojan war appears from the Hittite record of a treaty concluded between Alaksandus, king of Vilusa, and the Hittite king Movatallis about 1300 B.C. There is no doubt that Alaksandus is a Hittite spelling of 'Αλέξανδρος (Luckenbill, *Classical Philology*, VI, 85 f.; Kretschmer, *Glotta*, XIII, 205-13). Kretschmer identified Vilusa with Greek *Ἰλίου*; but Vilusa was situated in the region called Arzawa by the Hittites, and, since Arzawa has usually been identified with Cilicia, Kretschmer felt compelled to locate Vilusa in that region. It now appears (Albrecht Götze, *Kleinasiens zur Hethiterzeit*, pp. 14-28) that Arzawa is the Hittite designation of all Western Asia Minor, and so we may identify Vilusa with Homer's Ilios. Apparently Priam's son was not the first prince of the land of Troy to translate his name into Greek as 'Αλέξανδρος.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. CXXXI, No. 1, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Einleitung*, p. 184.

'Αριστόνικος, 'Αριστόξενος, 'Αριστότιμος, 'Αριστόφιλος, etc. I do not know of an Indic or Iranian name with a second member meaning "first" or "best."

A very serious objection to Kretschmer's etymology as well as to Tomaschek's is that they do not agree with the meaning of Πάρις which is actually given us in the *Iliad*. Whatever the etymology of Πάρις and of Thracian -πορις, -πολις, the meaning must be "defender," or, what amounts to the same thing, "avertor." This meaning, in one aspect or the other, fits the Thracian compounds, as far as these can be understood; 'Αβρούπολις, 'Αύλούπορις, for example, means "defender of horses" or possibly "warder off of horsemen."

Therefore, we conclude that the Hellenized Macedonians employed the names 'Αλκέτας, 'Αμύντας, and 'Αλέξανδρος as translations of a Macedonian name corresponding with Trojan Πάρις and Thracian *Poris*. Quite likely it was identical in form with the latter. It is noteworthy that this was a princely name among the Thracians as well as among the Trojans and Macedonians; for Livy<sup>1</sup> says that a certain woman married *Poridi cuidam longe principi gentis Aenianum*.

There is, of course, nothing novel in suggesting that the Greek names of Trojans recorded in the *Iliad* are translations. Indeed, that has always been the obvious interpretation of the facts, since the Trojans were regarded as barbarians by the ancients, and archaeological discoveries all go to show the close connection of the culture of the Troad with that of Thrace and Phrygia. Grace Macurdy<sup>2</sup> has called attention to the evidence presented by the Trojan names that the kinsmen of the Trojans are to be sought to the north of Thermopylae rather than to the south. I should interpret this evidence in a manner somewhat different from hers; but there is no question that her main thesis is correct.

Probably the reason why the hypothesis of translation has failed of general acceptance is the one suggested by Bury.<sup>3</sup> It is not clear what motive could have led the bards to translate barbarian names into Greek; and so Bury feels compelled to grasp the other horn of the dilemma and consider the Trojans Greeks. Our study of the Macedonian kings furnishes us with a third possible choice; the kings of

<sup>1</sup> xl. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Quarterly Review*, CCXXVI (1916), 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXIX (1919), 62-68.

Troy had come into contact with Greek civilization and had found it to their advantage superficially to embrace Hellenism by translating their names.

In one case, aside from that of Πάρις: Ἀλέξανδρος, we have ancient testimony to the Phrygian original of a name that is familiar to us in its Greek form. A Hesychian gloss reads: Δαρεῖος ὑπὸ Περσῶν φρόνιμος, ὑπὸ δὲ Φρυγῶν ἔκτωρ.<sup>1</sup> Skt. *dhar-*, Av. *dar-*, "ἔχειν," should appear in Thracian-Phrygian as *dar-*, *der-*, or *dor*, and we actually find in *Iliad* v. 9 a Trojan priest of Hephaestus named Δάρης.

A third name in the family of Priam calls for mention here. Κασσάνδρα is obviously of the same origin as Macedonian Κάσσανδρος. Their prior member has no obvious Greek etymology; Hoffmann's<sup>2</sup> connection of Κάσσανδρος with Homeric *κέκασμαι*, Doric *κέκαδμαι*, "to excel," is unsatisfactory as long as no other Greek names from the same stem can be cited. A new element was sometimes intentionally employed in a compound name;<sup>3</sup> but in such cases the new element was always in such form as to be etymologically clear, as in the names adduced as examples of the practice by Fick-Bechtel, namely, Εὐέλθων, Πανρόλας, Σφοδραγόρης. Κασσάνδρα and Κάσσανδρος do not fall into line with these formations.

We are forced to conclude, then, that the stem *κασσ-* was a Thracian-Phrygian stem which was retained when the second member of the two names was translated. None of the Thracian names listed by Tomaschek contain this stem; but it seems to occur in the name Κασσαμενός, which is applied to a Thracian character by Andriscus as reported by Parthenius.<sup>4</sup> Tomaschek cautiously omitted this name of a fictitious character; but it may well be a genuine Thracian name even so.

The retention of one member of a compound when the other was translated is understandable only in case the former word had gained a certain currency in Greek. Consequently, we may reasonably suspect that the prior element of our two names is *κάσσα*, "courtezan." The word is certainly not Greek; for it appears in several compounds whose final members are evidently barbarous. One of these is record-

<sup>1</sup> Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 184, suggests ἔκτωρ.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Makedonen*, pp. 208 f.

<sup>3</sup> Fick-Bechtel, *Griechische Personennamen*, pp. 5 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Erol.* xix.

ed by Hesychius as follows: *κασαύρα· κασωρίς, πόρνη. κασανρείους· οἰκοῖς, ἐφ' ὧν αἱ ἑταῖραι ἐκαθέζοντο· ἔθεν καὶ τὴν πόρνην κασανράδα ἔλεγον.* The derivative *κασανρείων* occurs in Ar. *Eq.* 1285, where the editors read *κασωρείοις* against the manuscripts. Whether *κασ(σ)ωρίς*, *κασωρίτις*, *κασῶριον*, and *κασ(σ)ωρεύω* represent a corruption of the compound stem *κασ(σ)αυρ-* or a different final member cannot be determined. The remaining words of the group, *κασσαβάς* and *κασαλβάς*, evidently contain other final members.

Our assumption that *κάσσα* is a Thracian-Phrygian loan word is confirmed by the appearance of the Thracian stem *αυρ-*, "horse," in composition with it. Thus *κασαύρα* is roughly equivalent to *ἵππο-πορνος*. For the meaning of both compounds compare Arist. *H.A.* vi. 18. 8=572 a 10 ff., where we are told that lascivious women are called *ἵπποι* on account of the aphrodisiac frenzy of mares.<sup>1</sup>

It is scarcely necessary to add that the word *κάσσα* in Thracian-Phrygian must sometimes have had a more respectable meaning than in Late Greek, or it would not have been used to form the name of a princess. It may well have been similar in meaning to Latin *carus*, which is cognate with Gothic *hors*, "adulterous," Anglo-Saxon *hor*, and English *whore*. The Trojan name translated *Κασσάνδρα* may have meant "dear to her husband" or "holding men dear," while something like the latter meaning must be assumed for the Macedonian original of *Κάσσανδρος*.

Then Thracian-Phrygian *κασσ-* is similar in meaning to *κεντ-*, and probably contains Indo-European *qā* (Lat. *cārus*, Skt. *kāmas*) or *qə*, reduced grade of *qē* (whence Skt. *cāruṣ*, Thrac. *κεντ-*). At least we must assume a connection of some sort between *κεντ-* and *κασσ-*; the vulgar word *κασ(σ)αύρα* has a better claim than *Πληξαύρη* to be called the feminine of *Κένταυρος*.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aelian *N.A.* iv. 11.

## NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION ENDOWMENT FUND

For a long time it has been the custom to say that the general public is not interested in the development of the humanistic societies. To support this idea we are pointed to the large gifts continually made to the practical sciences, as medicine, engineering, and geography, and to the relatively small interest shown by benefactors in such subjects as history, political science, literature, philosophy, and sociology. Many persons connected with this second group have been discouraged by this situation and have been inclined to lay the blame on that much worked influence, "the materialistic age."

The American Historical Association, the largest national organization for promoting the cause of history in this country, has had the courage to challenge this idea. It has boldly come out in an appeal to the public for an endowment fund of one million dollars to enable it to carry on its work for history. This large and patriotic organization, composed of our leading writers and teachers of history, is making a most interesting experiment, which will be observed carefully by a large number of workers in other fields. If it succeeds, even in a measurable degree, the result will be a blow to the old theory that materialism has no interest in the intellectual development of our people.

The American Historical Association has rendered an important service to our intellectual life. It has rescued from threatened oblivion a vast number of important papers, it has pointed out to students where other vast numbers are preserved, it has published a series of important books discussing the phases of our history, rich in lessons for the present and future, it has rescued the ideal of the historian from the barren devotion to mere facts and antiquities, and made it a thing bound up in the problems of the present. Most important of all it has made history a great national movement. Without lessening the efficiency of the individual as such, it has given him the added power that the individual gets by feeling that he is a part of a strong and permanent body fighting for ideals and supporting those who stand for them. In this day of organization it is by such methods that our best progress is obtained. The achievement of the campaign of this Association will make the historians a very powerful force in the intellectual life of the United States.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON THE PLACE OF *I.G. I*, 256

Since the publication of my paper on the place of *I.G. I*, 256 in the *lapis secundus*,<sup>1</sup> I have had an opportunity to study at first hand, in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, some of the problems which were there left unsolved.

<sup>1</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXIX (1925), 180-87.

I have been able to verify my conclusions and to obtain exact figures where before approximations only were possible.

The paper concluded with a warning that it would be impossible to give the exact length of the lacuna in *I.G. I<sup>2</sup>, 213* until the upper part of the stele (*I.G. I<sup>2</sup>, 209* and *212*) was properly reconstructed. When this was written, I did not know that Lolling had reconstructed the stele in plaster with approximate correctness, for, although his reconstruction differs in important respects from that of the first edition of the *Corpus*, no editor has collated the reconstructed document with the printed page, and the old mistakes continue to be perpetuated.

In this paper no attempt will be made to discuss the reconstruction itself except where it has a bearing on the unsolved problems of the earlier paper, or where it serves to accentuate or minimize the parallel which was drawn between the lists of 433-432 and 432-431, *I.G. I<sup>2</sup>, 212* and *213*.<sup>1</sup>

Fimmen's measurements, on which the calculations of my paper were based, though accurate enough for his purposes, are after all only approximate, for when he wished to ascertain the height of a given list, he measured from the top to bottom over the plaster surface, not realizing that some of the fragments are set several millimeters too high or too low in their plaster bed. Measured thus, the height of *I.G. I<sup>2</sup>, 211* is 0.85 m., just as Fimmen gave it; but if the fragments were all in perfect alignment the distance from the top of the prescript to the bottom of the lowest fragment would be only 0.84 m. Although this is a small error, it made a difference of about a line in my calculations; and since Fimmen underestimated the height of the list at the top of the reverse face of the stele, *I.G. I<sup>2</sup>, 209*, at the same time that he overestimated the height of the one at the bottom, my figures for the length of the lacuna in *I.G. I<sup>2</sup>, 213* were too small. A slight error of my own contributed to the difficulty. The height of ten lines of text is 0.169 m., not 0.167 m.

When properly reconstructed, the stele will measure 2.19 m. (Fimmen gives this incorrectly as 2.22 m.); and the distance from the top of the prescript of *I.G. I<sup>2</sup>, 210* to the top of the stone is 0.665 m., not 0.63 m. as I estimated it in my paper. By using these figures we can estimate the exact number of lines in the lacuna of *I.G. I<sup>2</sup>, 213*, for we know that the line of the top of the prescript of *I.G. I<sup>2</sup>, 210*, when extended around the corner on *I.G. I<sup>2</sup>, 213*, comes 0.006 m. below the top of the word *Προκοννέσιοι*. After subtracting the height of the prescript of *I.G. I<sup>2</sup>, 213* (0.202 m), from the distance above the word *Προκοννέσιοι* to the top of the stone (0.665 m. - 0.006 m. = 0.659 m.), we can easily reckon the number of lines of text above *Προκοννέσιοι*, and knowing the number of lines on the extant fragments of the stone, we can easily determine the length of the lacuna. The distance between the bottom of the prescript and the top of the word *Προκοννέσιοι*, computed in this manner, is

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Meritt and I are now engaged in preparing for publication a paper on the tribute lists of the *lapis secundus* in which the reconstruction of the stele will be discussed in detail.

0.457 m., enough for twenty-seven lines of text, and as there are on the extant fragments fourteen lines of text above the lacuna, not counting the prescript, and three lines below the lacuna to the top of Προκοννέσιοι, there are exactly ten lines missing between the extant fragments.<sup>1</sup> In the first column the lacuna is three lines shorter.

We now know that at least five of the Hellespontine cities presumably tributary in this period<sup>2</sup> paid no tribute in 432–431. If any of the cities whose names appeared in the lacuna occupied two lines, as did Δασκύλειον ἐν Προποντιῳ in the list of the preceding year, or if any of them, such as Λαμπονεῖς, paid ἐπιφορά, the number of absentees was from one to three greater. Even though we exclude from the list of probable tributaries Perkote and Palaiperkote, cities which are found in no list between about 440 and the early years of the Peloponnesian War,<sup>3</sup> there were from three to six absentees out of thirty cities, a fairly large proportion.

In the Ionic list the number of lines where names may be restored equals exactly the number of absentees,<sup>4</sup> but it is possible that Πιτανάιοι paid ἐπιφορά, as it did in 440–439 (*I.G.* I<sup>2</sup>, 205), and it is probable that one name occupied two lines. This we infer from the position of the numerals which the Corpus, *editio minor*, assigns to line 21 of the first column. Careful measurements show that these numerals are not in line 21, but half-way between lines 21 and 22. As numerals occupy this half-way position only when they are placed opposite a long name written in two lines, it is easy to restore the correct name in lines 21 and 22, Καρβασσανδῆς παρὰ Καῖνον, since this is the only city with a long name not found elsewhere in the list whose quota ended in the numerals ΙΙΙΙΙ found on the stone. We restore the numerals then: [ΔΓ] ΙΙΙΙΙ, noting that the restored *delta* is in perfect alignment with the *pi* which must be restored as the initial numeral of the title of Καρνανδῆς in line 12. In line 14 we must restore Ο[ι]ναῖοι ἐχς Ἰκάρο, for more can be read on the stone than appears on Kirchhoff's and Köhler's plates.<sup>5</sup> It is possible that the name of this city occupied two lines, and the name of its neighbors, Θερμαῖοι ἐχς Ἰκάρο, may have occupied two lines also, for the names are about the same length.

As there are no other long names, and as the other absentees are not known to have paid ἐπιφορά, no more than four or five of the Ionian and Carian cities defaulted in this year.

<sup>1</sup> In my paper (p. 183), I worked on the assumption, now shown to be correct, that there were ten lines in the lacuna, but in the *Addendum* (p. 187), I concluded that there could be no more than eight lines in the gap if the figures on which I based my estimates were correct. Since they were not correct my first estimate must stand.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 182, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*; cf. also *A.J.A.*, XXIX (1925), 443, where I discuss the date of *I.G.* I<sup>2</sup>, 218.

<sup>4</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXIX (1925), 183, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> *I.G.* I, 247; Köhler, *Urkunden und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des delisch-attischen Bundes*, Pl. VII, frg. 95.



Before we can compare the Ionic list of our inscription with that of the previous year, *I.G.* I<sup>2</sup>, 212, it will be necessary to show how the latter list, properly reconstructed, differs from the publication as now given in the *Corpus*. The *corpus* shows no lacuna between [ἐχς Ἰκάρο] of line 35 and [Κ]αμ[ιρῆς] of line 36; but when Lolling came to fit the fragments together he found it a physical impossibility to reconstruct the stele without a lacuna of several lines there, for the fragments of *I.G.* I<sup>2</sup>, 209 and 210 on the reverse face of the stele are continuous, except for a small lacuna of one line between the fragments numbered by Kirchhoff 2 and 4. To avoid a lacuna in *I.G.* I<sup>2</sup>, 212 it would have been necessary to make the fragments overlap several centimeters on the reverse face. The actual lacuna in *I.G.* I<sup>2</sup>, 212, amounting to five lines of text, is clearly shown on Lolling's stele, although he makes it slightly larger than it should be represented.

Thus the Ionic list of 433-432 occupied the first sixty-three lines of the first column of *I.G.* I<sup>2</sup>, 212. In the following year the Ionic list again occupied sixty-three lines. Moreover, my list of probable tributaries, compiled from *I.G.* I<sup>2</sup>, 212 and 213, once five names too long to be accommodated in the lacuna of *I.G.* I<sup>2</sup>, 212, is now of the proper length. There may have been a handful of absentees, but the number cannot have exceeded five in any case.

In these two lists, therefore, it is impossible to discover that the troubles in the Thracian district had affected the Ionic and Caric regions. It is possible that the greater proportion of absentees in the Hellespontine district in 432-431 reflects some disturbance there.

Arguments of this sort, however, are extremely hazardous, as will be clear, now that we have come to the Thracian list of 433-432. In creating a lacuna in the first column, we created a lacuna amounting to five lines of text in the second column. This lacuna falls in the Thracian list between [Ὀλοφύ]χο[ιαι] and [Ὀλύνθιοι]. In other words, the Thracian list of this year, previously considered complete, lacks completeness by five lines; and the story of a defection in the Chalcidic peninsula before the outbreak of the revolt there in 432, a story repeated so often that it has become a historical commonplace, is now known to be a myth.<sup>1</sup> Five of the seven reputed defaulters, Scione, Mende, Aphytis, Torone, Sernyia, Stagira, and Stolos,<sup>2</sup> paid their tribute as usual, and since the sole evidence of their failure to do so, a faulty reconstruction of the *lapis secundus*, has disappeared, the historical error which grew out of it should now be laid at rest before it grows and spreads.

<sup>1</sup> Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, III, 1, 560; 2, 798 ff.; *Phil.* XLI, 670; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, IV, p. 72. Meyer and Busolt date the defection in 436-435, because it was not known that *I.G.* I<sup>2</sup>, 212 was the list of the year 433-432 until after Fimmen's reconstruction of the second stele was published (*Ath. Mitt.*, 1913), pp. 231 ff. But their histories were published several years after the death of Lolling.

<sup>2</sup> Although Ainos is not found in the list of this year, I hesitate to include it in a list of Thracian tributaries between 434 and 425, since it is absent from so many lists of this period, *I.G.* I<sup>2</sup>, 213, 216, 218, each of which is practically complete.

The Thracian list of 433-432 occupied forty-two places, while the same list in the next year, the first of the revolt, occupied only thirty-one lines. This comparison obviously gives us an approximation of the seriousness of the situation in the north much closer to the truth than could be obtained by comparing the lists as they have been before published.

In my paper I restored the prescript of *I.G.* I<sup>2</sup>, 210 as follows:<sup>1</sup> 'Επὶ [τῆς εἰ]κοστῆς ἀρχῆς, ἡεὶ Θοίνιλος - - - ] 'Αχαρ[νε]ὺς ἐγραμμάτευε. [ἡελλενο]τ[αμίας] ἐν - - - ἐκ Κεραμ[είον]. But there is more on the stone than I had supposed. The *theta* of the name Θοίνιλος is recognizable, and before the *theta* is an *iota*, the final letter of the word *ἡεὶ*. These letters confirm the conclusions of my paper.

In the second line of the prescript, a part of the fifth letter of the name of the Hellenotamias is preserved, a stroke slanting diagonally downward to the left. It may be a part of a *gamma*, or possibly of an *alpha*, but as the name of the Hellenotamias for this year is unknown, nothing further can be said about it.<sup>2</sup>

In conclusion, I must withdraw the reading I proposed for the prescript of *I.G.* I<sup>2</sup>, 211,<sup>3</sup> accepting in its stead the reading given by Fimmen: [Ἐπὶ τῆς μῆς καὶ εἰκοστῆς ἀρχῆς . . . . ]. The longer form of the numeral, *πρώτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς*, which I preferred, is epigraphically incorrect. Moreover, Fimmen was probably right in thinking that there would have been no room for it on the stone.

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#### BOSPORUS AND PHANAGORIA

Brandis, writing on the Bosporan state in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie*, Halbband 5, pp. 762 ff., contends at some length that the important Greek colony of Phanagoria, on the east or Asiatic side of the strait, was not included in the state of Bosporus until about the beginning of the Christian era. The only expressed dissent from this view is found in Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 572, n. 4, a brief remark couched in general terms. Brandis' contention can, however, be specifically refuted.

He supports his view partly by the inscriptions, which, from the time of Leucon (early fourth century), call the chief ruler ἄρχων Βοσπόρου καὶ Θεν-

<sup>1</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXIX (1925), 184.

<sup>2</sup> The prescript now reads as follows: 'Επὶ [τῆς εἰ]κοστῆς ἀρχῆς ἡεὶ Θοίνιλος - - - ] 'Αχαρ[νε]ὺς ἐγραμμάτευε ἡελλ[ενο]τ[αμίας] ἐν . . . ]/[ - - - ἐκ Κεραμ[είον].

<sup>3</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXIX (1925), 184 ff.

δοσίης.<sup>1</sup> In this formula Βόσπορος means, says Brandis, not the entire Bosporan state, but only Panticapaeum; and Phanagoria would also have been mentioned if she had been under the same ἄρχων. But I can find no indication that "Bosporus" was used to mean Panticapaeum until about the beginning of the Christian era, except in Demosthenes 20. 33. Boeckh has no other evidence but this passage of Demosthenes for concluding<sup>2</sup> that in Demosthenes' time foreigners generally used the name Bosporus in referring to Panticapaeum.<sup>3</sup> And I think the Demosthenes passage has been misunderstood. It reads: προσκατασκευάσας (sc., ὁ Λεύκων) ἐμπόριον Θεοδοσίαν, ὃ φασιν οἱ πλείοντες οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν χεῖρον εἶναι τοῦ Βοσπόρου κἀνταῦθα ἔδωκε τὴν ἀτελείαν ἡμῖν (Leucon had given Athenian exporters exemption from the grain tax). It has been generally assumed that Demosthenes was referring here to the excellence of Theodosia's harbor. He does not say λιμὴν, however, but ἐμπόριον; and οἱ πλείοντες is used to imply business as well as navigation.<sup>4</sup> I suggest that "the emporium of the Bosporus" means, in this context, the emporium in the Bosporan realm from which grain had been exported before the acquisition of Theodosia. The latter city, however, was already an important center, doubtless with a considerable grain trade. So when Leucon brought her under Bosporan rule he established there an additional emporium for grain export; and traders thought this emporium as good as the one they had been accustomed to call "the emporium of the Bosporus." This explanation of Demosthenes' statement would postpone by three centuries the use of "Bosporus" to mean Panticapaeum, and remove all hesitation about making Βοσπόρον, in the formula ἄρχων Βοσπόρου καὶ Θεοδοσίης, refer to the Bosporan state.

Theodosia was a strong rival of the Bosporans, and hard to conquer. Satyrus, Leucon's father, had lost his life in trying to reduce her. Her power may well explain the separate mention of her name in the title of the realm and her separate emporium for the export of grain. Apparently she never was thoroughly subdued, and her union with the Bosporan state was somewhat in the nature of a coalition.

But even if Βοσπόρου in the title ἄρχων Βοσπόρου καὶ Θεοδοσίης did mean Panticapaeum, as Brandis claims, this would not prove that Phanagoria was under separate government in the fifth and fourth centuries. For the same title is used at the beginning of the Christian era, when Phanagoria was certainly not separate.<sup>5</sup>

Nor does the fact that Phanagoria issued her own coins mean anything for the point at issue. We have coins of Panticapaeum and Theodosia also.

<sup>1</sup> Latyshev, *Insc. Ant. Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini*, II, 6-8 and *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> *CIG*, II, 106.

<sup>3</sup> Dittenberger, *Sylloge Insc. Gr.*, 128, n. 4, follows Boeckh here.

<sup>4</sup> Plato, *Gorg.* 467d; Pseudo-Demosthenes 34. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Latyshev, *op. cit.*, II, 36.

The Bosporan state allowed individual cities to issue their own coins; and for some time these coins may have been all there were—at any rate no coins of the central government dating from before the third century are extant.

But more positive evidence that Phanagoria was early included in the state is found in the fact that inscriptions of the fourth century from Phanagoria and the vicinity are dated by the archons of the Bosporus.<sup>1</sup> This is evidently what Minns has in mind in *Scythians and Greeks*.<sup>2</sup>

Strabo says<sup>3</sup> that αἱ πλησιόχωροι κατοικίαι πᾶσαι αἱ περὶ τὸ στόμα τῆς Μαιώτιδος belonged to the δυνασταί of Bosporus down to the time when that state was handed over to Mithridates. Brandis<sup>4</sup> tries to wrest from this passage an indication that Phanagoria was not included, by holding that she was not περὶ τὸ στόμα as Strabo understood that phrase. But the passages cited by Brandis to establish Strabo's idea of the στόμα<sup>5</sup> are, if anything, in favor of the opposite view, for Strabo calls the narrow part of the strait northeast of Panticapaeum ὁ στενώτατος πορθμός τοῦ στόματος τῆς Μαιώτιδος, thus plainly including under στόμα more than the simple narrows; and vii. 4. 5, which Brandis does not mention, gives positive evidence that in Strabo's mind Phanagoria would have been one of the κατοικίαι αἱ περὶ τὸ στόμα. Not only was she covered by Strabo's statement, but that statement, as shown above, applies without doubt to the fifth century.

Brandis raises needless difficulty<sup>6</sup> in imagining how Phanagoria could have been combined with Panticapaeum at this time. It seems easy enough to picture the spread of Panticapaeum's power in the early fifth century, first to the towns north and east of her on the European side, and then across the strait to the Asiatic side until Phanagoria had been included. We actually know that Cēpi on the Asiatic side had been secured in the fifth century.<sup>7</sup> Somewhere in the course of this expansion, perhaps before it reached Phanagoria, the name Bosporus was introduced for the state which had thus developed around Panticapaeum. Military pressure from this state, or Phanagoria's need of rescue from neighboring βάρβαροι, may have led the latter city to accept annexation or federation under the ἄρχων Βοσπόρου. Apparently the government of the ἄρχων was of such a character as to leave room for considerable local autonomy, at least in the earlier period of the realm, the long career of which may well have been due, in some degree, to exceptionally liberal treatment of its component parts.

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<sup>1</sup> Latyshev, *op. cit.*, II, 343 ff.

<sup>5</sup> xi. 2. 3. 8. 10, p. 494.

<sup>2</sup> P. 572, n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 766 ff.

<sup>3</sup> vii. 4. 4, p. 310.

<sup>7</sup> Aeschines 3. 171.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 768 ff.

## ORNITHIACA PLAUTINA

Mr. Campbell Bonner is very likely right and certainly interesting in the explanation he gives of Aristophanes *Birds* 1081.<sup>1</sup> May I confirm a supposition of his on one point?

He says (p. 212) that the barbarous practice mentioned by Merry in his notes on Aristophanes, of killing small birds by thrusting one of their quill-feathers up the nostril to the brain, likely existed in antiquity. It is not likely, but certain. In Plautus, *Poenulus* 472 ff., that voracious warrior, Antamoenides, gives an account of his successful strategy against the enemy's *homines uolatici*, of whom he brought down sixty thousand by slinging bird-lime at them (surely the earliest known use of anti-aircraft batteries!). Then, he says (ll. 486-87):

ut quisque acciderat, eum necabam ilico  
per cerebrum pinna sua sibi quasi turturem.

Ussing in his note throws no light on the passage, and mentions that Ritschl supposed a lacuna. Thanks to Aristophanes and Mr. Bonner, the sense is clear enough.

I rather doubt, by the way, whether this particular practice is a form of *μασχαλισμός*. Is it not rather an attempt to make the bird's death seem a kind of suicide, for which the fowler or poulterer is not to blame? Whether anything of this kind lies behind the famous and ancient fable of the eagle and the arrow (Aesch. *frag.* 139, Nauck<sup>2</sup>, and scores of later passages) is an interesting question, to which, however, I see no convincing answer one way or another.

H. J. ROSE

NOTE ON PLATO *EPISTLE IV* 320D

παρασκευάζον τόν τε Λυκούργον ἐκείνον ἀρχαῖον ἀποδείξων καὶ τὸν Κῦρον, κ.τ.λ. The impersonated Plato exhorts Dion (in effect) to make that famous Lyeurgus and every great statesman of the past look like a back number. This colloquialism, suitable to a radical speaker in Euripides' *Bellerophon* or in Aristophanes, would be peculiarly repugnant to the mood of the aging Plato. He would have sympathized rather with Mr. Alfred Noyes' protest against that "soul-slaughtering cry of new" than with Timotheus' and Walt Whitman's *ἀπίτω μούσα παλαιά*. In fact he explicitly says in the *Laws* 797C that no greater evil can befall a society than the habit of using "old" as a term of disparagement—τὸ ψέγεσθαι τὴν ἀρχαιότητα.

Our sentence, then, is one of the many examples of slight or extreme moral vulgarity which (with other considerations) make it impossible that a man of Plato's delicate and unfailing spiritual tact (in expression certainly) wrote most of the epistles, and improbable that he wrote any.<sup>2</sup> This argument will

<sup>1</sup> *Class. Phil.* XX (1925), 210 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my note on the sixth epistle, *Class. Phil.*, 1915, p. 87.

not appeal to recent interpreters of the epistles, for all known to me mistranslate the passage. In the newly published and in the main excellent translation of Professor L. A. Post<sup>1</sup> the passage is rendered "prepare to play the part of Lycurgus or Cyrus of old or of anyone else who has ever become famous for superior character and statesmanship." And this is essentially the interpretation of all translators accessible to me. Apelt: "den ehrwürdigen alten Lykurgos in dir wieder zur Erscheinung zu bringen." Müller-Steinhart: "jenen alten Lykurgos darzustellen." Schlosser: "dass du in dir uns wieder den alten Lykurg darstellst." The Latin version of Ficinus and others: "conare Lykurgum illum antiquum exprimere."

It ought not to be necessary to explain that these interpretations are impossible. I do not think any examples can be found of ἀποδείκνυμι in the sense postulated: embody, reproduce, represent on the stage. It would be superfluous to quote the many examples which the dictionaries and special lexica supply of the meaning assumed in my interpretation. I will content myself with one that is especially pertinent from Lucian's *Nigrinus* 3: ὥστε καὶ τὰς Σεφῆνας ἐκείνας . . . καὶ τὸν Ὀμήρου λωτὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀποδείξαι—make it look like thirty cents, so to speak. Cf. also Epistle vii. 324D.

PAUL SHOREY

#### STATISTICS OF STYLE IN THE SEVENTH PLATONIC EPISTLE

The author of this epistle is fond of δ' οὖν. He employs it about eleven times in twenty-eight Stephanus pages. All the remaining epistles (about the same amount of text) employ it three times. A book of the *Laws* is approximately the same length. Book I has two cases; Book II, 3; Book III, 2; Book IV, 1; Book V, none; Book VI, 1; Book VII, 3; Book VIII, 3; Book IX, 1; Book X, 1; Book XI, 2; Book XII, 2. There are not enough errors in this count to affect the "argument." I am not sure what these facts signify about the authorship of the seventh epistle—but if they do not prove something, all arguments from statistics of style are subject to caution.

PAUL SHOREY

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 280.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Groma*. By MATTEO DELLA CORTE. [A monograph, separately printed from] *Monumenti Antichi pubblicati per cura della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, Vol. XXVIII (1922). Pp. 100. With 22 illustrations.

When in 1901 H. Schöne published "Das Visirinstrument der römischen Feldmesser" in the *Jahrbuch* of the German Archaeological Institute (XVI, 127-32) I turned to it with no little anticipation. For Schöne undertook to supplement the representation of a *groma* on the tombstone of the *ensor* L. Aebutius Faustus, found at Ivrea north of Turin in 1852,<sup>1</sup> by a reconstruction based upon the supposed remains of a *groma* which had been brought to light in excavations along the Limes, near Eichstätt in Bavaria. The result, however, was disappointing. Schöne's reconstruction involved the use of a tripod, which would greatly have increased the difficulty of setting the instrument in proper relation to boundary stones or posts carrying a benchmark; and for other and more technical reasons it was altogether unworkable.

The difficulty which Schöne and the earlier scholars found in reconstructing the *groma* did not arise from the complexity of the instrument, which was obviously simple in design, or from an inadequate understanding of its purpose and range of application, obtainable from literary sources, or from lack of knowledge of the names of its component parts.<sup>2</sup> Its simplicity had been inferred from its assumed Etruscan origin and from its use in the rapid and rough work of laying out camps. While no technical description of the *groma* is extant, such as Heron's description of the *dioptra*,<sup>3</sup> in the writings of the *agrimensores* there is no suggestion of improvements in design or construction, but perfect familiarity with the instrument is everywhere assumed; none of the Roman writers that had occasion to discuss problems of surveying thought it worth while to give a description of it.

The difficulty of reconstructing even a simple instrument from insufficient data may be illustrated from an experience in the late war. A part of a German periscope came into the hands of some American officers in France. They immediately attacked the problem of supplying the missing parts, but no two reconstructions of the periscope were alike. Finally, a German officer who had

<sup>1</sup> *CIL*, V, 6786.

<sup>2</sup> Discussed, e.g., by A. Rudorff, "Gromatische Institutionen," in Vol. II of *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*, herausgegeben und erläutert von F. Blume, K. Lachmann, und A. Rudorff (Berlin, 1852).

<sup>3</sup> H. Schöne, "Die Dioptra des Heron," *Jahrbuch des K. D. Arch. Inst.*, XIV (1899), 91-103.



been taken prisoner showed them how the instrument was made; in the light of his explanations, all but one of the reconstructions seemed absurd.

The inadequacy of Schöne's solution of the problem was recognized, and in 1912 Schulten published in the Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie* (VII, 1884) an altogether different reconstruction by E. Fabricius. This removed some difficulties, but not all. In the same year, however, a fortunate discovery at Pompeii obviated the necessity of attempting further theoretical reconstructions; for in the "new excavations" all the metallic parts of a *groma* were brought to light, and at the same time there was recovered an almost complete collection of the minor objects used by a surveyor. These remains formed a part of the contents of a shop on the right-hand side of the continuation of Abbondanza Street in the direction of the amphitheater.

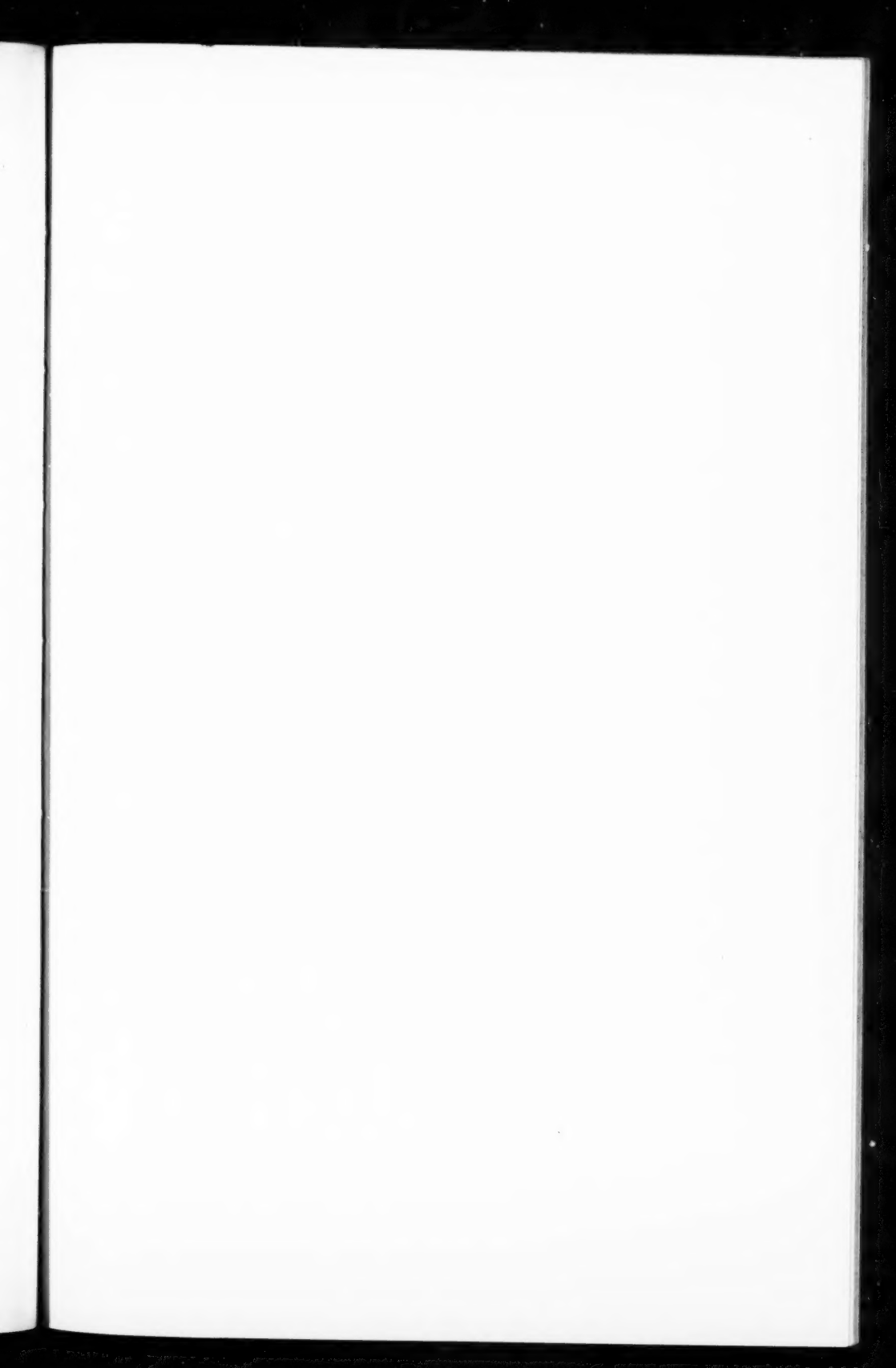
This shop<sup>1</sup> had evidently not been disturbed by treasure-seekers after the catastrophe. But at the time of the eruption of 79 the party-wall between the shop and the adjoining triclinium (No. 4) had crumbled, and with the remains of it were found the heavy iron foot and some bronze parts of the *groma*. With the distribution of the other objects when found, and the circumstances of discovery, we need not concern ourselves here; the details are fully set forth in the record of the excavation prepared by Dr. Matteo della Corte.<sup>2</sup>

To the material thus brought to his hand Dr. Della Corte, whose numerous contributions have given him a high place among Pompeian scholars, devoted long and careful study. In the mathematical computations and in the preparation of certain technical drawings he was assisted by an engineer, Signor Luigi Iacono, who is also an expert in Pompeian studies. The results are presented in a monograph of unusual interest. But on the technical side it was almost as delicate a task to clean the oxidized iron remnants of the *groma* without damage, and to determine with exactness the original shape and dimensions of all the metallic parts, as it was to put in its proper place each of the eleven pieces of metal and fix its relation to the wooden portions of the instrument; for the wood, of course, had perished, leaving only traces of fibers adhering to the oxidized surfaces.

About one-fourth of the monograph is devoted to an analysis of the literature of the *groma*, with illuminating criticism of various interpretations of the technical terms. A second portion, of approximately equal length, presents a description of the metallic parts found at Pompeii, with exact measurements. There follows a description of the *groma* as reconstructed, with its parts of wood, as well as of metal, complete, and mathematical calculations demonstrate that such an instrument could have been used with equal readiness by surveyors in the different parts of the Roman Empire; for outside of Italy it was at times undoubtedly necessary to adopt as the unit of measure-

<sup>1</sup> Reg. I, Ins. vi, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi* (1912), particularly pp. 143, 181, 182, 253-55, 336, and 406.



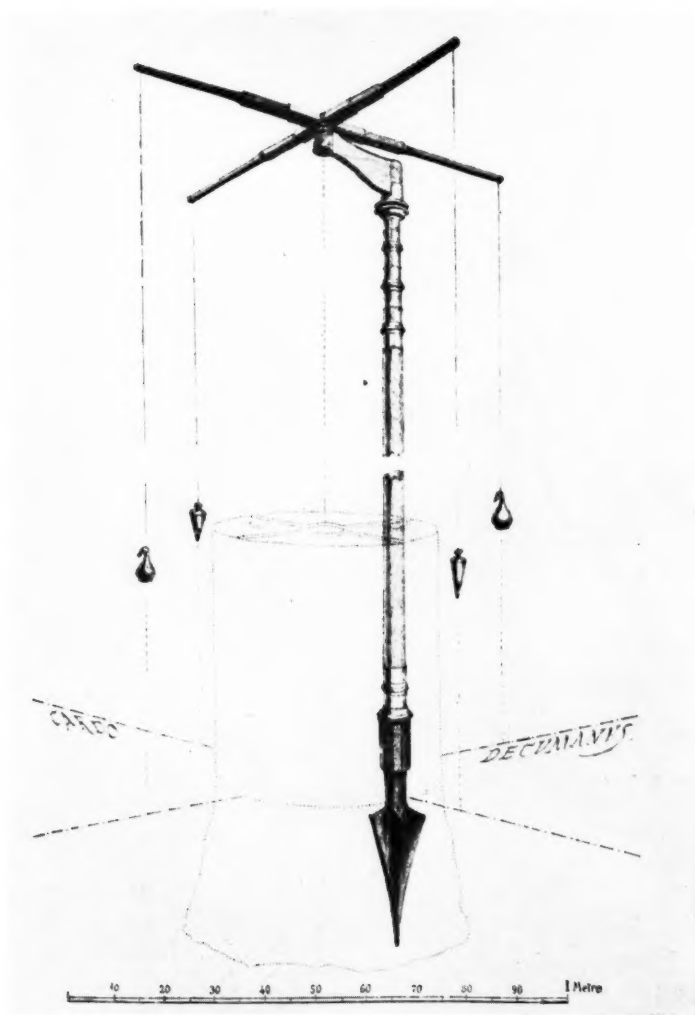


FIG. 1.—Pompeian Groma (Reconstruction by Matteo della Corte)

ment a foot differing from the Roman foot in length. The other objects belonging to the surveyor's outfit are minutely described, also with illustrations. Finally, by pursuing the method of identification which the author skilfully applied in his papers on *Case ed abitanti a Pompei*, he establishes the probability that the name of the surveyor who owned the instrument was Verus; and he suggests its possible use in connection with the work of Titus Suedius Clemens, a military tribune who on the order of Vespasian, shortly before the destruction of Pompeii, made surveys in order to restore to the city *loca publica* of which private individuals had taken possession.<sup>1</sup> Few readers will hesitate to accept the author's conclusion that the remains found near Eichstätt and discussed by Schöne are not those of a surveying instrument but the framework of a type of grain measure, *modius praeferratus*, mentioned by Cato and identified in several examples found at Pompeii. The Pompeian instrument, then, is the only *groma* the remains of which have yet been discovered.

This *groma* as reconstructed consists of three main parts: a staff, of wood reinforced with metal but named *ferramentum* by reason of the heavy iron foot; a swinging arm, identified with the obscure *umbilicus soli*, which revolved on a bronze pivot at the top of the staff; and the *groma* proper, a cross with arms of equal length at right angles but revolving on a pivot at the outer end of the swinging arm. The relations of the parts can easily be seen by reference to the drawing here reproduced (Fig. 1). The technical term for the cross, as the most important part, was extended to the whole instrument.

The height of the staff with the foot was probably about seven Roman feet; it cannot be accurately determined because of the destruction of the wood. When the iron foot was driven into the ground, tapering vertical flanges on four sides of it tended to hold the instrument steady. The weight of the foot, with that of the bronze fitting for the wooden staff above, was nearly eight pounds.<sup>2</sup>

The swinging arm was a Roman foot in length. It was of wood reinforced with strips of metal above and below. Sockets of metal at the ends fitted the two pivots, one at the inner extremity, on the top of the staff on which it revolved, and the other at the outer extremity; on this pivot the cross revolved.

The arms of the cross apparently had a total length of three feet, projecting a foot and a half from the center. Since the outer extremity of the swinging arm was slightly elevated, the ends of the cross would clear the staff as it revolved. That the right angles at the junction of the arms of the cross might be held rigid, the middle part was reinforced with metal.

<sup>1</sup> A. Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, pp. 407-8. The inscription there interpreted (*CIL*, X, 1018) is now supported by a duplicate found near the Vesuvius gate (*Not. degli Scavi* [1910], p. 399). The work of Suedius Clemens and the meaning of *loca publica* in that connection are discussed by Dr. Della Corte in "Il pomerio di Pompei," *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, XXII (1913), 261 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Kg. 3.55.

When the instrument was in use, cords, *nerviae*, *fila*, were suspended from the ends of the arms of the cross, *cornicula*, and to these were attached the weights, *pondera*, which were actually found and are shown in position in the illustration. These are of bronze, and are seen to be grouped in two pairs by their shapes and weights.

By sighting across opposite cords when the instrument was set a straight line could be quickly laid off. When this line had been run, a transverse line could be as easily laid off at right angles to it. The running of straight lines and the laying off of right angles were fundamental processes in land-surveying as well as in laying out camps. By turning the cross either way lines could be projected at any angle with the lines already run. The reference to a benchmark on the top of a stone or boundary post or other mark on the ground could be fixed by setting the instrument so that a cord would hang from the point under the center of the cross to the point underneath.

Such, in brief, was the *groma* of Pompeii as made ready for use. The reconstruction meets the requirements. In a moment the three main parts—cross, swinging arm, and staff—could be separated, and they could be set up again very quickly in a different place. The use of wood lightened the total weight, which was less than thirty-five pounds. The principal difficulty with which users of the instrument had to contend was wind, but under such conditions the cords could be let down in tubes. In some places stony soil made it impossible to drive the foot into the ground, and a different means of setting the instrument had to be adopted. The directions of the *agrimensores* are sufficiently explicit in regard to the methods which needed to be employed when monuments or other obstacles presented themselves in the surveyor's path. The instrument could be used also for running levels, but it was not so well adapted for that work as the more cumbersome *dioptra*, the predecessor of the modern theodolite.

Of the minor objects of the surveyor's outfit the most important are the metallic ends of wooden measuring-poles, two compasses, a rule, and a small ivory box on the cover of which the lines of a sundial were marked off for determining the time of day. It is interesting to note that an ink bottle and a stylus were also found. If these both belonged to the surveyor, we may infer that he used waxed tablets for notes and calculations but papyrus for his larger drawings, and perhaps for more extensive reports. If only a set of tablets and his book of directions had been preserved!

The significance of this discovery, set forth with signal success in the monograph before us, is far reaching. It not only contributes to our knowledge of a fundamental ancient craft but throws new light on the text of an important group of technical writers and will help to clarify the meaning of not a few passages of literary works. The remains of the *groma* itself are in the Museum at Naples.

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*A Greek-English Lexicon.* Compiled by HENRY GEORGE LIDDELL AND ROBERT SCOTT. A new edition revised and augmented throughout by HENRY STUART JONES with the assistance of RODERICK MCKENZIE. Part I: A—'Αποβαίνω. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925.

The new Liddell and Scott is another great achievement of English scholarship. The interesting Introduction sketches the history of Greek lexicography, explains why a thesaurus would be impracticable, describes the division of labor by which the present compromise has been accomplished, promises speedy publication of the remaining parts for which the material is collected, justifies the exclusion of ecclesiastical and Byzantine Greek by the prospect of a special lexicon covering those fields.

The arrangement of the hyphenated half of cognate words in indented fine print under their principals will be confusing to the tiro and a strain on the eyes of the scholar. It was unavoidable if space was to be found for the immense store of new matter. And there is nothing more to be said except that it emphasizes the demand for a workable *editio minor* for the use of undergraduates.

A collection of this compass can be tested only in use. I have examined it sufficiently to add my testimony to the many congratulatory voices that pronounced the work well done. I cannot speak with certainty of the new matter from inscriptions, the papyri, et cetera. My impression and the impression of those whom I have consulted is that it is as full and accurately recorded as was compatible with the available space. Specialists have removed the chief blemish in the old Liddell and Scott, its weakness in later philosophical, rhetorical, and technical terminology. Scores of errors which I had marked on the margin are silently corrected. As typical examples see *s.v.* ἀπερίστατος, ἀπαραλλαξία, ἀπεργασία, ἀδρεπήβολος, ἀκώλυτος, ἀμφίβασις, ἀναγώνιστος, but Pl. Lg. 845 C is still not quite right, ἀνελίττουσαι σφαίραι, ἀντονομάζων, ἀπαντᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν δίαυταν.

Among the few remaining oversights that have caught my eye are the following: ἀπεριτρέπτως, in *S.E.M.* 1. 53, means "argued" or "arguable" in a way not to expose itself to refutation by περιτροπή; εἰ μὴ ἀδικῶ γε means "I surely ought to," cf. *Classical Philology*, 1923, p. 74; in *Il.* 23 for ἀκήδεις imperfect read ἀκηδεῖς present; cf. *Classical Philology*, 1923, p. 74; in *E. Hec.* 802 νόμος εἰς σ' ἀνελθών is not "being brought home to you"; in *Pl. Lg.* 817 Α τὴν ποίησιν φέρειν τε καὶ ἄγειν, i.e. "bring it into the state" misses the jibe; the explanation of ἀντιστροφὴ σὺν ἀντιθέσει not in the older edition or other lexicons was given by me in *Classical Philology* (1913, page 228); the interpretations of αἰδοίμην *Il.* 6. 358 in the bad sense "infamous" misses the poetry of one of the most beautiful passages of the *Iliad*. Cf. *Odyssey* 8. 579-80; ἀνυποθέτως in *Plu.* 258 f. does not mean "without foundation" (Stephanus

*sine certo fundamento*), but "not clothed in the circumstance the *περιστατικά* of an *ὑπόθεσις* as opposed to a *θέσις*; *ἀνάγκη*—*δικαστική* *κλεινύδρα* Hesych. is a mere misunderstanding of Plato *Theaet.* 172E; *ἄθροισμα* is not "a process of aggregation" in Plato *ibid.* 167 D; "ill-suited" is weak for *αἰσχροῦς* in Dem. 18. 178; *ἀνεπίτατος* is not exactly "not to be extended further"; *ἀπερίσπαστος* has a psychological meaning which is overlooked.

PAUL SHOREY

*Platon, Phédon, texte établi et traduit.* Par LÉON ROBIN. Paris: Société D'Édition "Les Belles Lettres" (L'Association Guillaume Budé), 1926.

It is not a mere paradox to fancy that the Budé editions may be more helpful to an English-speaking scholar than the Loeb, on the principle of Plato's *Lysis* and Tennyson's *In Memoriam*:

But he was rich where I was poor,  
And he supplied my want the more  
As his unlikeness fitted mine.

At any rate the transfusion of the Greek into the limpid, if sometimes matter-of-fact and extremely explicit, French idiom is always interesting and often instructive. Professor Robin's renderings are nearly always correct and frequently felicitous. In 65 A he is scrupulous to translate: "des plaisirs dont le corps est l'instrument."<sup>1</sup> In 78 A, "puisque, dit-il, tu es en train, toi, de nous abandonner," shows fine feeling for the pathos of the text. In 78 D, *τῶν πολλῶν καλῶν* is "des multiples exemplaires de la beauté." In 79 A *τῶν ὄντων* are not *réalités* but "things."<sup>2</sup> In 80 C he differs from Burnet in translating "dans tout l'éclat de sa fleur." In 84 B "misère" supplies an equivalent for *κακά*, which English lacks. In 84 C, "qui donnerait prise contre nous" is excellent for *ἀντιλαβάς*, as is in 85 A "leur inspire ce chant suprême" for *ἐξάδειν*, as is in 85 C "quitte la partie" for *προαφίστασθαι*, and in 87 A "outrecuidant" is better for *ἱπαχθής* than Burnet's "exaggerated." In 87 B, "il n'est point supprimé, le bonhomme" hits the tone neatly. In 89 D, "sans s'y connaître" is just right for *ἀνευ τέχνης*. Admirable also are 91 A, "vois ces gens-là en train de discuter quelque problème"; 96 C, "d'une inaptitude à nulle autre pareille"; 101 D, "mais si quelqu'un s'attachait à la thèse en elle-même," which evades or solves the difficulty; 110 A, "une quantité inimaginable de vase"; 111 D, "des fleuves intarissables"; 116 D, "bref, un homme excellent." These examples might be multiplied indefinitely from my marginal notes.

There are a few interpretations which I should like to query or submit to Professor Robin's second thoughts. In 63 C, *ἐν νῶ ἔχεις* is perhaps better taken with the whole sentence than with *ἀπιέναι*. In 66 C, "que par lui ... ne nous

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my *Unity of Plato's Thought*, p. 46, n. 330.

<sup>2</sup> See *Philosophical Review*, September, 1910, p. 537, and later, Burnet *ad loc.*



vient aucune pensée de bon sens" is perhaps misleading. In 66 D, *δοχολίαν ἀγομεν* is not quite "mettons de la paresse." In 67 C, may not *πάλαι* etc., in spite of Burnet's references, refer, not to an old tradition, but simply to 67 A. So, in 67 D, *ἐν ἀρχῇ* refers to 64 A. Cf. also 79 C and 63 D for this use of *πάλαι*. Will *ἐν τῷ λόγῳ* bear the other interpretation? In 70 A *ἐπεὶ* is not exactly "par suite," but perhaps it is not intended to translate the particles exactly. In 72 C I do not understand "et qui nulle part n'aurait où s'appliquer." Surely *οὐδαμοῦ ἂν φαίνοιτο* is an idiom like the English "Eclipse is first and the rest nowhere." In 74 D, *τοιούτων* refers forward, not back, as "de la sorte" seems to imply. In 84 A, is it necessary to make *ἐναντίως* mean "au rebours de l'autre"? In 84 D "sortir de votre embarras" is possible for *εὐπορήσειν*. But cf. 86 D, which implies rather the frequent Platonic thought that in talk with another a man will be more fertile in ideas. In 86 D *διάβλεψας* is rendered by "ce regard pénétrant" despite Burnet's warning we must not translate "with a piercing glance." In 89 E, *ὥσπερ ἔχει* must be taken with what follows. In 93 A-B, I cannot construe the sentence, "ne serait-ce pas que, etc." and think something must be wrong. For the rest, Professor Burnet confuses or rather reverses the logic of the harmony argument, and I am not sure that I understand Professor Robin's interpretation. I will not here go into the complicated question further than to say that the argument is: that soul as an *οὐσία* does not in fact admit of more and less. But if it were a harmony it would be more a harmony and hence more a soul when virtuous, since in the language of the hypothesis virtue would have to be described as a harmony in or superadded to a harmony. One passage in Olympiodorus seems to get this point right. But there is not space to discuss it. What misleads is that Socrates, in order to show that he is aware that a musician might deny that a harmony can admit of more and less, adds: *εἴπερ ἐνδέχεται τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι*. Hence interpreters assume that the argument starts from the impossibility of more or less a harmony instead of from the impossibility of more or less a soul.

The text criticism of Plato is largely a game to be played for its own sake. The vulgate text is pretty sound. Few variants affect the essential meaning.<sup>1</sup>

More depends on the editor's judgment in choosing his readings and perhaps on an occasional emendation than on the classification and filiations of the MSS. The text of an editor who does not understand Plato's thoughts or appreciate the finesses of his style will always be inferior, no matter what his expertise in paleography or his industry in collation. The hundred pages devoted to the subject in Professor Wilamowitz's *Platon* yield practically nothing.

Professor Robin knows the game and plays it competently. He has collated the four chief manuscripts from phototypes or photographs, and for some

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my review of Jowett and Campbell's text of the *Republic* in the *Nation*, LXI, 83.

of his corrections of Burnet's and, still more, of Schanz's collations, "demande qu'on me fasse confiance." He has also studied the secondary tradition in quotation but found little to add to Schanz's inventory. There would be no point in summarizing this part of his introduction further. But it is pertinent to add that the clearness, compactness, and sanity of the text critical introductions to this and to many of the Budé editions make them invaluable to those American scholars who may not care to specialize in this kind of work but wish to be oriented. I will limit myself here to the enumeration of a few of Professor Robin's preferences in really significant or doubtful passages. In 66 B he keeps *ἐν τῇ σκέψει, ὅτι*, and translates, I think, correctly. In 69 B he keeps the traditional text, not bracketing *ὡνούμενά τε καὶ πιπρασκόμενα*, and translates rightly, I think, unless perhaps it be that he pins Plato down to too literal an interpretation of the metaphor *νόμισμα*. In 85 D he keeps *ἦ* in spite of Burnet's protest and interprets correctly, "je veux dire une révélation divine." In 89 E the comma should precede, not follow, *ὥσπερ ἔχει*. In 100 D he retains *προσγενομένην*, disregarding Burnet's dagger and Wilamowitz's unnecessary emendation, and translates neatly, "soit, enfin par tels voies et moyens que comporte cette corrélation."

The printing, as in all the Budé editions, is beautifully done and a delight to the eye. I note but few trifling misprints: 65 E *ὅφιν* for *ὅφιν*, 74 C *οὐδὲ* for *οὐδὲν*, 74 C *οἰον*, 98 B *ὁρῶν* for *ὁρῶ*.

The introduction is sane and lucid and gives all the information needed by the Budé readers. It does not enter deeply into the philosophy of Plato or treat of the influence of the *Phaedo* on Aristotle and later philosophers. The paradox of Professor Burnet that Plato is Socrates and Socrates a Pythagorean is courteously but firmly and definitely rejected with reasons which must be specifically answered if the hypothesis is to retain any scientific standing.

The footnotes to the translation are helpful and sufficient, but intentionally brief and simple. There are no parallel passages except from other Platonic dialogues. Professor Robin evades dogmatism and conjecture on 64 B, 66 B, 69 A-B and 97. The note on 74 B, "la notion d'existence *séparée* marque un progrès sur 65 D-66 A," is, I presume, and hope, not to be taken literally. The interesting note on 79 B, "qui ne se voit pas. C'est donc qu'elle est une chose invisible," might be supplemented by the remark that often the dialectics of Plato proceeds by what seem to us unnecessarily minute links. For the note on 94 B, "le *Phédon* définit en effet l'âme essentiellement par la pensée, et la division en trois parties, dont on peut soupçonner le germe à 68 B, etc.," I may be permitted to refer to the *Unity of Plato's Thought*, n. 295. On 110 B he argues that the earth is a sphere obtained from a dodecahedron as implied in *Timaeus* 55 C. On 115 B there is a true and fine observation on the modulation of Socrates' style from tragic pathos to the familiar, a point not noticed by Burnet. He wisely says on 77 E, "cette magie ne doit pas être

prise ... au sérieux." And his sensible note on 118 A disposes of a great deal of unnecessary conjecture and foolish mysticism. I am therefore the more surprised and shocked at his comment on the noble and profound warning, never more needed than today, in 115 E: τὸ μὴ καλῶς λέγειν οὐ μόνον εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο πλεημελές, ἀλλὰ καὶ κακὸν τι ἐμποιεῖ ταῖς ψυχαῖς. "Formule curieuse de la croyance au pouvoir magique des mots." I hope he will reconsider that sentence. How can he, after life-long study of Plato, say such a thing? I can only explain it as a temporary aberration due to the associations which the anthropologists have established for ψυχή. Shall we never perceive that the first condition of understanding the greater Greeks is to drop this tone of condescending allowance for the primitive quality of their thought and psychology, and recognize them as our equals in intelligence as well as our superiors in literary art?

PAUL SHOREY

ΣΑΠΦΟΥΣ ΜΕΛΗ. *The Fragments of the Lyrical Poems of Sappho.*

Edited by EDGAR LOBEL. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1925. Pp. lxxvi+80.

This book is devoted exclusively to textual criticism. The texts are given with only the briefest supplements, but with full notes on the readings. There are three new fragments, some new combinations of fragments, and some revised readings. We have here the latest critical text of the extant material.

The Introduction deals exhaustively with such topics as the digamma, doubled consonants, elision, ν-movable, etc. The author is not concerned with questions of the poet's dialect, or explanations, but with the habits of the text, and it is convenient to have such an objective statement of the facts. The treatment of the digamma situation is excellent. But in regard to certain other features he is inclined to make over subtle differentiations, on a slender foundation, between the habits of MSS of different centuries and again between different form categories that are co-ordinate in respect to the question under discussion. In the treatment of final -ηι, -ωι, -αι, the material tabulated on page xx is hardly sufficient (e.g. one example of -ωι in first century) to demonstrate a definite sequence from the first to third century A.D., parallel to the actual sequence in Lesbian inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. The only clear and significant fact is the persistence of -αι in all MSS in contrast to -η and usually -ω. This, together with the same practice in the verses of Balbilla, points to a standard text with this differentiation, and so indirectly to a redaction made in the late fourth or early third century B.C. by those acquainted with contemporaneous Lesbian practice. Cf. Kehrhaahn, *K.Z.*, XLVI, 296 ff.

In discussing σσ and σ the author states, page xlviii, that σσ is never simplified in datives of the type πόδεσσιν, etc., but on page l he quotes ἀνδρεσι

with a cryptic remark about its vocalization (*φρέσι* is of course a different matter). Both *ἄνδρεσι* and *ἄμμεσιν* can be nothing but simplifications of the *-σσι* type like Hom. *χείρεσι(ν)* etc. beside more common *-σσι*. The same is true of the *σ*-stem forms *στῆθεσι(ν)* etc., despite the fact that all occurrences (four, possibly six) have *σ*. In view of the only possible analysis and the fluctuation in Homer, one cannot agree with the author that it is "more reasonable to suppose that all these datives have an original single *-σ-* which is never doubled, than that they have an original double *-σσ-*, which is always simplified." In all the categories distinguished by the author (except *ἴσος* which is quite apart) the *σσ* was normal in the poets' dialect, but the Homeric fluctuation between earlier *σσ* and later *σ* was imitated. If there is any consistency it will be in particular words rather than in categories. If we had more material, it is possible, though I doubt it, that we should still find only *στῆθεσι(ν)*, but this would not establish a canon by which we should suspect for example an *ἔπεσσι(ν)*. Cf. Hom. *τεύχεσι(ν)* about forty times: *τεύχεσσι(ν)* twice, but *ἔπεσσι(ν)* or *ἐπέεσσι(ν)* over a hundred times: *ἔπεισι(ν)* eight times.

A proneness to overrefined distinctions appears also in remarks on the doubling of the nasals (*κᾶλημι*, *κλᾶμμα*, p. xxii), etc., but the clear array of facts is welcome. For, to say nothing of Edmonds' wholesale emendations, even the text in Diehl's *Anthologica Lyrica* is full of emendations, most of them justified, but not carried out under any consistent principle of normalization. Thus Diehl sometimes corrects infinitive forms to *-ην*, sometimes lets *-ειν* stand; changes *ποικιλόδεσσοι* (Alcaeus 135) of the MSS, which is clearly epic, to *ποικιλόδεσσοι* which is not good Lesbian (cf. *δέσσοι*, *κόρα*, *μόνος*, etc.); introduces several hyper-Aeolic *αι*'s without MS authority (e.g. *ὑπαδεδρόμαικεν* Sappho 2. 10), following Wilamowitz' theory of *αι*=*η*, which, I believe, is a misinterpretation of the situation (cf. *Class. Phil.*, X, 215 ff.).

The rejection of *δοισι* (Diehl 25. 11), p. xlvii, is hardly final, but suggests caution in quoting it with *δοτω*=Hom. *δοττω*. The discussion of *πορφύρα*, *ἀργυρα*, p. lxxv, with the assumption that they are Attic forms, ignores the inscriptional Lesb. *ἀργυρα*, Thess. *ἀργυρροι*, etc.

The author's most important generalization is that the language of Sappho, apart from certain poems that he classes as abnormal, is "non-literary and represents, as nearly as the nature of the case admits, the contemporary speech of her country and class," while that of Alcaeus contains an artificial or literary, a non-Aeolic element. It is out of the question to deny epic influence in Sappho (the *ν*-movable, though used less freely than in Alcaeus, is enough to show that). It can only be a question of degree. The arguments from meter and prosody are beyond my competence or patience to follow. The evidence from forms (p. lxxiv) is rather slender. Alcaeus' *Ἄιδας* is matched by Sappho's *Περάμοιο*, though this to be sure is in an "abnormal" poem, and *ἀνῆταιο* (Diehl 80) from Athenaeus' text, for which the

author, p. 36, reads ἀνήτω. Why Alcaeus' πολιάτας is assumed to be a non-Lesbian form is not apparent. If πόλῃος and ἔδαρ occur only in Alcaeus is it safe to say that this is more than accidental? However this question of the relative degree of external influence in the two poets is one that will bear watching, and the author's conclusion in a modified form may be sound.

C. D. B.

*Estratto dalla "Miscellanea."* A handlist of half-uncial MSS. By E. A.

LOWE. Fr. Ehrle IV. Roma: Biblioteca Vaticana. 1924.

Lowe has performed a very useful service in preparing this list, which forms a welcome supplement to Traube's list of uncial MSS. No claim for completeness is made but it is not likely that many MSS have been overlooked. The publication of the list will undoubtedly have the same effect as in the case of Traube's list—it will stimulate the search for additional MSS. The list of uncials has already grown from 400 to nearly 500. Nearly all the half-uncials have been examined by Lowe himself, so we are dealing with first-hand information. This is of especial importance in the matter of dating. The decision of a scholar who is fresh from an examination of the mass of MSS will carry more weight since we have the assurance at least of uniformity in judging the criteria.

The student of paleography may perhaps be surprised to find that the number of items is so large; there are 160 in all, including a number of papyrus fragments from Egypt, written in the so-called "mixed" script, i.e., with uncial and half-uncial elements. The astonishing fact, familiar to the paleographer but not to many editors of classical texts, who are fond of deriving errors in the tradition from an assumed half-uncial archetype, is the absence of MSS of the classics. Of the European MSS, the only ones that count for our text tradition, only a single MS contains a Latin classic, the Ambrosian fragments of Juvenal. From Egypt we have the famous Oxyrhynchus papyrus of Livy (British Museum, Pap. 1532, fragment of a roll) and fragments of papyrus codices, Cambridge University Library, add. MS 403 (Vergil *Aem.* i. 457–67, 495–507); Florence P.S.I., No. 20 (Cicero *in Verrem* ii. 1); No. 21 (Vergil *op. cit.* iv. 66–68, 99–102); Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pap. 4 (Cicero, *in Catilinam*, with a Greek version); British Museum, Pap. 2057 (Cicero, *in Verrem* and *pro Coelio*); Oxford, Bod. Lat. class. E. 20 (P) (Salust, *Catiline*); there are in addition about a half-dozen juristic fragments. Only one vellum fragment from Egypt is listed (Milan, Ambros.s.n. [Vergil, *op. cit.* ii]).

In Europe the half-uncial was even more a church script than the uncial, though it was occasionally used for technical writings. Aside from the *Orationes* of Symmachus (Milan, Ambros. E. 147 sup.+Rome, Vat. 5750) all the non-ecclesiastical texts are of this sort, *Probi Catholicon* (Turin, destroyed in

the fire of 1904), *Grammatica varia* (Vienne 16, now at Naples, *Geometria Latina* (Rheims 132, flyleaf), Oribasius (Paris, N.A. 1619, Paris 10233, ff. 273<sup>v</sup>, 279<sup>v</sup>-80), and the *Herbarium* of Pseudo-Apuleius (Halberstadt, Domgymnasium, s.n.).

A Bibliography of the more important literature and of the facsimiles is added to each item.

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*Codices Lugdunenses antiquissimi. Le scriptorium de Lyon, le plus ancienne école calligraphique de France.* By E. A. LOWE. Lyon, 1924.

This monograph deals primarily with the uncial and half-uncial MSS of Lyons but it is at the same time a valuable contribution to the solution of the most important problem with which paleographers now have to deal, the history of the various *scriptoria* during the seventh and eighth centuries. The puzzle of the development of the Caroline minuscule cannot be solved until we know what centers were active during this period and what influences were at work in the evolution of their scripts.

Lowe's collection includes facsimiles of all the MSS (thirteen in number) anterior to the ninth century now preserved at Lyons and of MSS preserved elsewhere which certainly or probably belonged to Lyons before the ninth century. The majority of the MSS are probably of Lyonnese origin. All of them are written in uncials or half-uncials, dating from the fifth to the eighth centuries, but with one or two exceptions all contain additions, marginal notes, *probationes pennae*, etc., that furnish specimens of a variety of scripts dating from the seventh to the ninth centuries; e.g., Lyons 443+Paris N.A. 1591 is a half-uncial MS of the seventh century (Plate XVIII); it has additions in cursive of the seventh or eighth centuries (Plate XIX); folios 162-226 and 232-79 are written in eighth-century uncials, with Morovingian scribbles on the margins (Plate XX); several folios are in a Visigothic hand of the ninth century, by a Spanish-trained cleric, according to Lowe (Plate XXI); folios 77, 77<sup>v</sup>, and 227-31 are in a ninth-century minuscule which shows Visigothic influence, possibly copied from a Visigothic original (Plate XXII). It is the presence of the cursive and minuscule additions that make the monograph so valuable for the study of the script of the oldest *scriptorium* in France. There are thirty-four plates in all, with the addition of two facsimiles of MSS that seem to show connection with Lyons (the Munich MS of the *Breviarium Alarici* and a Cologne canonical MS). Plate I contains over a dozen reproductions in color of initials from three MSS of the seventh and eighth centuries.

In the Preface Lowe gives an admirable sketch of the significant facts in regard to Lyons as to cultural center. It was a Roman foundation in a Celtic



land, a center of Roman influence, and, situated on one of the main routes of commerce, was in contact with the civilization of the Orient, Egypt, Greece, and Spain. It was an ecclesiastical center of the first rank from the beginning and was especially active in the ninth century. It possessed a cathedral library that is second only to that of Verona in the number of old MSS that remained in the place of their origin, and next to Verona the best center in which to study the development of a local script during the period of transition from the majuscule to the minuscule.

Lowe discusses the difficulties of identifying an uncial or half-uncial MS with any particular center; the principles he has adopted are reasonable and his conclusions are probable. Absolute certainty is impossible in such matters. The MSS are grouped as "probably Lyonnese," "French type, but not Lyonnese," "Italian type, perhaps Lyonnese"; the famous *Codex Bezae* is of uncertain origin, though it contains folios that were certainly written at Lyons. Several interesting facts develop: The same scribe may write uncials and half-uncials; there are no palimpsests; there are no *marginalia* in the Insular script, there are no classical texts, and none of the MSS is dated. Lowe's dates are based on general considerations and his remarks on the subject are sound. The Preface closes with an account of the dispersion of the Lyons collection.

In connection with the fact that the same scribe could shift from uncial to half-uncial it may be added that the uncial MS No. 478 (408) of the sixth century was copied from one that was written in half-uncials. Weirich in his edition of Augustine's *De consensu evangelistarum*, page xi (*Vienna Corpus*, XXXXIII, Sec. III, Pars 4), gives a list of cases of confusion of letters, without, however, drawing the obvious inference. Among the letters confused are *r* and *s* (eighteen times), *b* and *h* (eight times); *r* and *t*, *s* and *f*, *f* and *p*, *i* and *s*, *cl* and *d*. The occurrences are so numerous that they can be explained only by the assumption of a half-uncial original.

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*Plutarch's "Moralia."* Vol. I. Recensuerunt et emendaverunt W. R.

PATON ET J. WEGEHAUPT. Praefationem scr. M. POHLENZ. Pp. xlvii+354. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1925.

In 1908 M. Pohlenz, W. R. Paton, K. Hubert, W. Nachstädt, and J. Wegehaupt undertook the stupendous task of editing Plutarch's *Moralia*. The first volume, which was to include the same works as the first volume of the edition of Bernadakis, was assigned to Paton, with the exception of *de sanitate tuenda praecepta* and *praecepta coniugalia*, which were given to Wegehaupt. But Wegehaupt was slain in the first year of the war; and Paton died in 1921, having finished only the first six essays. Pohlenz, aided by Hubert, using the apparatus of Paton and his partial constitution of the text, has



completed his part of the volume, and written the Introduction. Sieveking, now added to the list of editors, using the apparatus of Wegehaupt, established the text of the other two essays.

The Introduction contains a brief but clear account of the general tradition of the *Moralia*, and of the editions; a description of the manuscripts consulted in preparing this volume; and accounts of the traditions of the several essays. Of especial importance is the discussion of Codex Paris 1956, termed D, of the eleventh or twelfth century. This manuscript, which frequently differs from the vulgate, was Bernadakis' chief authority for the essays contained in it. Our editors place a much lower estimate upon it, holding that, together with Z, a, and b, it represents a correction of the vulgate on the basis of an arbitrary recension, which they term Δ, made a few centuries after Plutarch. Yet they do not regard these manuscripts as wholly without value:

Itaque etsi summa cum libidine eum [i.e. the scholar responsible for Δ] egisse ubique cognoscimus summaque diffidentia atque cautione opus est, tamen hanc recensionem etiam genuinas atque antiquitus traditas lectiones servasse negandum non est, neque pauci sunt loci, ubi, utrum lectio Δ an vulgata praeferenda sit, dubites.

Perhaps the greatest service rendered by the editors is the admirable critical apparatus. At last we are able to know what the manuscripts read. For this volume over forty have been consulted, as well as the Syriac version of one of the essays. Very happily the apparatus is not burdened with variations in spelling.

It is impossible here to give any discussion of the text which the editors have established. But we may cite a few examples of corrections which seem certain. In *de liberis educandis* 8D, Bernadakis reads, without comment: τί οὖν ἂν τις εἴποι; σὺ δὲ etc. Our editors, following the MSS, read: τί οὖν, ἂν τις εἴπῃ· σὺ δὲ. In *quomodo adulator* 65E, ὥς τινὰς ὄντας, the reading of two eleventh-century MSS, is preferred to ὥς ἐτοίμους ὄντας, found in all the others, and read by Bernadakis. Wilamowitz' emendation παροξύνειν is read in place of παροξύνει of the MSS in 71D. In *consolatio ad Apollonium* 115A the corrupt couplet

τοιάδε θνητοῖσι κακὰ κακῶν, ἄμφι τε κῆρες  
εὐλύνται, κενεὴ δ' εἰσδυσις οὐδ' αἰθέρι

is cleverly restored by Wilamowitz

τοιάδε <τοι> θνητοῖσι κακῶν κακά, ἄμφι τε κῆρες  
εὐλύνται, κενεὴ δ' εἰσδυσις οὐδ' αἰθέρι.

In one passage, *de superstitione* 170F, one may perhaps not feel so much confidence as the editors do in rejecting the reading of D and the other manuscripts depending on the early recension, and accepting, with addition or emendation, the vulgate. The latter reads: εἰ δ' ὥσπερ ὁ Τάνταλος ὑπεκδύναι τὸν λίθον ὑπαιωρούμενος τῷ φόβῳ καὶ πιεζόμενος ἀγαπήσειεν ἂν καὶ μακαρίσειε τὴν

τοῦ ἀθίου διάθεσιν ὡς ἐλευθερίαν. Paton's addition of δόνατο after ἱπεκδῶναι is printed in the text; Pohlenz' εἰθ' for εἰ δ' is given in the critical apparatus. Apart from the fact that ἱπαιωρούμενος seems not to occur elsewhere, the Greek is far from being neat, and is by no means what we would expect. The reading of D is so plausible that it seems hard to reject it absolutely: καίτοι γ' ὥσπερ ὁ Τάνταλος ἱπεκδῶναι τὸν λίθον ἱπαιωρούμενον οὕτω καὶ οὗτος τὸν φόβον ὡς οὐχ ἦπτον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πιεζόμενος, etc.

The editors have been careful to note parallels between the text and other works of Plutarch and those of other authors. This adds much to the value of the edition. They have given at least seven parallels to Plato, which, so far as I know, have not been pointed out before. But they have omitted twenty others, some of which are indicated in Wyttenbach's edition. I have noted two additional parallels, not indicated here, or elsewhere, so far as I recall: *praecepta conjugalia* 142D, οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τιμῶντες τοὺς φιλοσόφους αὐτοὺς τε κοσμοῦσι καὶ κείνους, οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι τοὺς πλουσίους θεραπεύοντες οὐκ ἐκείνους ποιοῦσι ἐνδόξους ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἀδοξοτέρους is from *Epistle II*, 312C; *quomodo adulator* 57C, τὰ μέσα φεύγουσι τῶν πόλεων, is from *Gorgias* 485D.

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*Griechisches Privatrecht auf rechtsvergleichender Grundlage.* By PROFESSOR DR. JUR. EGON VON WEISS. 1. *Allgemeine Lehren.* Leipzig: Verlag von Felix Meiner, 1923.

The recovery of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* and a wealth of papyri from Egypt has increased the sources and widened the field of Greek law. The labors of Lipsius, Beauchet, Glotz, Mitteis, Wilcken, and Wenger have done much to make this material in the different fields conveniently available. The study of Greek law is no longer a narrow specialty. Lipsius, Hitzig, Glotz, and Calhoun have drawn attention to the essential unity of the judicial systems of the various city states and their influence upon Roman law. A great advance along these lines was made by Vinogradof in his *Jurisprudence of the Greek City States*. But much remains to be done. Weiss has rendered a great service to the study of jurisprudence and legal history by working over the sources in literature, inscriptions, and papyri and the mass of books, dissertations, and journal articles devoted to their elucidation. The survey ends: "wo roemisch-rechtliche Ordnungen im griechischen Volke zur Geltung gelangen." Under the topic *Rechtsquellen* are treated customary law and statute law; under *Rechtssubject*, legal competency and legal succession; under *Rechtsgeschäft*, publicity and archives; under *Zwangsvollstreckung*, seizure of property and seizure of the person. The book is a veritable treasure-house of material. If the reader does not always agree with the author's point of view the means for forming an independent judgment are at hand.

The danger of investigations of this kind lies in the tendency to invest a very practical provision of law with a philosophic sight which the legislator could not have possessed. For example, the provision that an Athenian woman could secure a divorce only by appearing before the archon is simply intended to make difficult a step that would involve for the husband a liability to repay the dowry. Athenian divorce laws, as so many others, had in view primarily the interest of the man. In the matter of filing, recording, or depositing documents Weiss has not taken sufficient account of the desire for safeguarding the documents from authorized interference as the original motive. When the state intervened by having magistrates perform this service the intention was to safeguard quite as much as to publish the documents.

R. J. BONNER

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*Ephemeris Dacoromana, Annuario della SCUOLA ROMENA DI ROMA, I, 1923; II, 1924. Roma: Libreria di Scienze e Lettere, Piazza Madama, 19-20.*

The extraordinary attraction exercised even today by the city of Rome on all communities of the world of Western culture has found a striking manifestation in the group of historical and artistic institutions which have made Rome their home. A recent addition to the number is the Rumanian School, founded in 1921 under government auspices and having for its official head the distinguished authority on Dacian antiquities, Vasile Pârvan, and for its scientific and administrative secretary the capable young Italian archaeologist, Giuseppe Lugli. Its scholarly contributions, in so far as they concern Italy and the West, are published in the journal here noticed; this makes use in general of the Italian language; while problems of strictly oriental interest are reserved for another periodical, entitled *Dacia: Recherches et Découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie*, appearing in the French language in Bucharest.

The two volumes before us are full of valuable matter and give promise that the new periodical will worthily occupy a field quite its own. I summarize their contents, in so far as they concern the readers of *Classical Philology*:

Volume I, pp. 1-56, Paul Nicorescu: "The Tomb of the Scipios." A detailed technical investigation, with thirty-one illustrations. The oldest portion of the tomb was executed toward the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C.; there were extensions and modifications at later periods as occasion arose; the peperino façade is not earlier than 100 B.C.; the supporting walls of small tufa blocks and brick are due to attempts to prevent a collapse of constructions on the ground above the tomb toward the end of the third century A.D. The arrangement of the sarcophagi was not chronological, but due to considerations of available space. The famous laureate head (*not* to be called "Ennius") is of Anio tufa, a good portrait of the

second half of the third century B.C. The writer acknowledged obligations to Professor Tenney Frank, of the American Academy in Rome, in the identification of the various materials used in construction.

Pages 57-290, G. G. Mateescu: "The Thracians in the Inscriptions of Rome." This enormous material is made to yield its historical information. Pp. 253-90 consist of tables of the dated inscriptions and the soldiers in various branches of the service.

Pages 291-337, Stephanus Bezdeki: "Ioannes Chrysostomus and Plato" (in Latin). (1) The attitude of the Fathers of the Church toward the philosophy of the Pagans. (2) Plato and the Church Fathers. (3) The attitude of Ioannes Chrysostomus toward Plato.

Pages 387-413, Em. Panaitescu: "The Portrait of Decebalus." It appears seven times on the Column of Trajan, and is not always by the same hand; this number does not include the representation of the exposure of the decapitated head; the Vatican head, Braccio Nuovo No. 127, is accepted as representing Decebalus, and may be the work of still another sculptor.

Volume II, pp. 1-65, Alex. Busuioceanu: "A Cycle of Frescos of the XI. Century." These are in the Church of Sant' Urbano, a Christian adaptation of a structure of Herodes Atticus, in the Valley of the Caffarella, between the Via Appia and the Via Latina. Ten of the paintings are adjudged original, six only in part authentic, the remaining twenty entirely or almost entirely modern. The art is not Byzantine but Italian, with new elements which are the precursors of a transformation in the art of the Roman School.

Pages 223-38, G. G. Mateescu: "Thracian Names in the Scytho-Sarmatic Territory."

Pages 239-377, St. Bezdeki edits the Greek text of *Nicephori Gregorae epistulae XC*.

Pages 378-415, Paul Nicorescu: "Excavations and Discoveries at Tyras, a Milesian colony of the VII. Century B.C. on the Euxine Sea." Walls, inscriptions, especially the stamps of Rhodian amphora handles, coins, and minor objects, chiefly Hellenistic and Roman; discussion of the local cults.

Pages 416-59, Em. Panaitescu: "Fidenae." The most is made that can properly be made of the very scanty material evidence, all of which is serviceably presented, as to a city which occupies a prominent position in Livy's picture of early conditions in the region up the Tiber from Rome.

A. W. VAN BUREN

#### AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

*Xenophon, Memorabilia, Oeconomicus, and Scripta Minora, with a Translation.* By E. C. MARCHANT. "Loeb Series." London: William Heineman, 1925. 2 volumes.

In the *Scripta Minora* are included the *Hiero*, *Agésilas*, *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, *Ways and Means*, *On the Cavalry Commander*, *On the Art*

of *Horsemanship*, and *On Hunting*. Appended to each volume are indexes and an Introduction, initiating the reader into the higher criticism of these works. The translator defends the authenticity of all but the thirteenth chapter and the *exordium* of the essay *On Hunting*. He admits, however, differences in the time of composition of portions of the *Memorabilia* and the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*.

As to the translation, the reader will enjoy its unflinching ease, clearness, and simplicity. At times he may feel that sacrifices have been made to attain this. *Memorab.* i. 1. 11, ὅπως ὁ κόσμος ἔφν, is translated "How it works." *Ibid.* iii. 5. 1, ὅπως ἤδη τὸ δυνατόν ἐστι—"How they can be brought about"—disregards ἤδη; τήν γε πρῶτην, *ibid.* 6. 10, "for the present," misses the humor of πρῶτην and γε. *Ibid.* 7. 1: ἀξιόλογον, "respectable," is faint praise for the worthy Charmides. *Ibid.* 6. 3: "What makes you think so?" gives no hint of the criticism implied in καταγινώσκεις. So, too, "by the multitude" falls short of ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων (*ibid.* 9. 10).

Occasionally too much is read into the text. *Ages.* ix. 1, ὡς καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὑπεστήσατο τῇ τοῦ Πέρσου ἀλαζονείᾳ, the English, "the contrast between his behavior and the imposture of the Persian King, requires the insertion of ἐναντίον. Liddell and Scott's "substituted" for ὑπεστήσατο in this passage is unsupported. Again, *Cav. Com.* ix. 1; ἐννοεῖν [MSS ποιεῖν] δὲ τὸ παρατυγχάνον, is not made any clearer by the emendation ἐννοεῖν, and even the addition of πρὸς would not be enough to justify "to hit on the right thing at the right moment." *Mem.* iv. 4. 10, ποῖος δὲ σοι ἔφη οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐστίν; "And how can you call that an account?" exaggerates the scorn and obscures the word-play of the passage. In *ibid.* vii. 2, ἢ ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι, the rendering "to compute the yield" would be difficult to defend. Does not the phrase generalize the preceding specific instances into "to give a practical demonstration of the knowledge of geometry"? *Oec.* vii. 41: τὰ γὰρ καλὰ τε κάγαθά—διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς εἰς τὸν βίον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπαύξεται. ἐπάγεται would be preferable to ἐπαύξεται, but in any case εἰς τὸν βίον must be taken with the predicate, however plausible "the good and the beautiful is increased in the world by the daily practice of virtues" may be to read. *Ibid.* xii. 14: οὐδὲ μὴν ὅταν παρῇ τὸ πρακτικόν τιμωρίαν εὐπερές ἐστι τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρρωμένων κωλύεσθαι. *Cic. ap. Colum.* xi. 1, 14 and the parallel use of παρῇ *Soph. O.C.* 1229 and *Plat. Rep.* 460E support the derivation of παρῇ from παρήμι. Neither reward for duty performed nor punishment for neglect is effective with a steward in love. The translation *Oec.* xiv. 5, of the laws of Draco and Solon, γέγραπται γὰρ ζημιοῦσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς κλέμμασι καὶ δεδέσθαι ἢν τις ἄλφ ποιῶν καὶ θανατοῦσθαι τοὺς ἐγχειροῦντας, "Thieves shall be fined for their thefts and any one guilty of attempt shall be imprisoned if taken in the act and put to death," is a *reductio ad absurdum* of an already corrupt text. The interpretation of ζημιοῦσθαι as "fined" and the improbable combination of τοὺς ἐγχειροῦντας with ἢν τις ἄλφ ποιῶν make the law prescribe fining for expert thieves and death added to imprisonment for

the bunglers—a truly Spartan code! The interchange of *θανατοῖσθαι* and *δεδῆσθαι* or the reading of violence into *τοὺς ἐγχειροῦντας* would be possible alternatives. *Ibid.* xviii. 8: ἡ συνώσας τὸν καθαρὸν πρὸς τὸν πόλον ὡς εἰς στενώ-  
 τανον. Whatever may be the technical meaning of *τὸν πόλον* in this passage, the use of *πόλος* in Plato *Tim.* 40B, *Crat.* 405C, *et al.*, and the explanatory ὡς εἰς στενώ-  
 τανον and ὑπερφέρηται in the next paragraph all point to the center, not the edge, as its location. *Βαρίτονον*, *On Hunting* v. 30, probably bears the same meaning as it does in Arist. *Physiog.* 71, where it is a sign marking τοὺς  
 εὐρώστους κύνας. The hare, on the contrary (Arist. *Physiog.* 12), is described as ὀξύφωνος, which would coincide with Xenophon's οὐ βαρίτονον. Xenophon  
*Ages.* vi. 4, "He won the obedience of the citizens," has no equivalent in the Greek text. *Horsemanship* i. 3, *ταπειναί*, a gloss as Dindorf noted on ἡ χαμηλαί, has been retained in the text though omitted in the translation. αἱ δὲ *ταπειναί*  
 below should then be emended to *χαμηλαί*. *Ways and Means* ii. 2: No note is made of the emendation αὐτῶν for MSS ἀπῶν. *ἔνν*, *Mem.* iv. 4. 23, for οἶν and  
 πα ἑα for παχέα, *Horsemanship* i. 5, are rare lapses in carefully edited books.

GENEVA MISENER

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*Die Rechtsidee im frühen Griechentum.* By VICTOR EHRENBURG.  
 Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1921. Pp. xii+150.

This interesting and useful monograph is a revision and elaboration of the author's doctoral dissertation. He uses Hirzel's *Themis, Dike und Ver-wandtes* as a basis for his work, but employs, as he explains, a different method from Hirzel's. No attempt is made to discuss all of the questions involved in the history of the idea of justice, but the author treats in successive, similarly organized chapters *θέμις*, *δίκη*, and law (*θεσμός* and *νόμος*). There follows a chapter on the connection of the history of these three with the history of the Greek state. I shall mention only a few of the interesting points in the book. The first two words discussed are contained in the names of Agamemnon's two daughters, Chrysothemis and Laodice, which are symbolic of their father's leadership. These old names show how far back one must begin to understand the idea of justice in the Greek state. After tracing the meaning of the word *θέμις* from its use in the *Iliad* up to its use in later literature and through religion, and after outlining the history of the goddess Themis, the author arrives at the following ingenious conclusion. *θέμις*, derived from the root *θεμ-* as found in *θέμεθλα*, *θεμειλια*, was originally a concrete noun signifying a hill, was then identified with *ὄμφαλος*, "holy hill," then became the earth-goddess dwelling therein, from her the oracle, and so the heavenly command. The Zeus cult usurped this conception, and *θέμιστες* became the expression of Zeus's will. The word was then extended to the commands of kings and judges.



Again, in the case of *δίκη* the author discards the commonly accepted etymology and connects the word with *δικαίνω* so that it signifies the cast of the vote which decides a dispute (p. 70). There is a useful appendix to the chapter on *δίκη* regarding the relation of *δικάζειν* and *κρίνειν*, based mainly on the use of the terms in the Gortyn Code. The chapter on law discusses the word *θεσμός* up to the time of Cleisthenes, when it fell into disuse. The word took on a sacred character and *νόμος*, "human custom," became the common word for law. I agree with the author in his interpretation of the *θεσμοθέται*, and have expressed it in my monograph on *Administration of Justice from Hesiod to Solon* (pp. 24 ff.). These officials were originally judges, but probably wrote down their own decisions, which served as precedents.

The book is prefaced by a table of footnote abbreviations which serves also as a Bibliography. There is a complete Index of names and words.

GERTRUDE SMITH

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### BREVIORA

[The managing editor establishes this subdepartment because of the difficulty of procuring substantial critical reviews of all books, and the impossibility if they were found of printing them in our limited space. It is believed that brief but fair *comptes rendus* will prove more useful than a mere bibliographical notice. Contributions to this department should never exceed a page, and a paragraph is preferable.]

*Marc-Aurèle, Pensées—Texte par A. I. TRANNOY; Preface, d'AIMÉ PUECH. Association Guillaume Budé.*

What can be said of still another translation of Marcus Aurelius? [Cf. my review of C. R. Haines, *Class. Phil.* [1916], p. 476, and of Lemercier, *ibid.*, VII, 114.] To judge by a comparison of about half the text with the Greek, this version is correct and, if an English reader may say so, well expressed and somewhat closer to the original than its French predecessor. *ἀπερισπάστως* 3. 6. 3. is rather "undistractedly" than "sans violents efforts"; *ἰδιωτικώτατον* is perhaps better rendered by Mr. Haines' "unphilosophical to the last degree" than by "une grande simplicité d'esprit"; in 4. 19. 3. *πλὴν ἄρα δὲ οἰκονομίαν τινά* is not quite "à moins sans doute qu'elle ne soit un moyen de gouvernement."

The text seems to have been thoughtfully and conservatively constructed. The references to Marcus Aurelius' reminiscences of earlier literature, and especially Plato, include only the more explicit and obvious quotations. The reference at 3. 6. 2. to Plato *Tim.* 61D must be an inadvertence.

The Preface, by Professor Puech, narrates the life of Marcus Aurelius with the aid of the article in Pauly-Wissowa and "Marque les traits les plus caractéristiques de cette conscience." One observation of Professor Puech is



subject to an exception which perhaps does not impugn its general truth, but which it interests me to note because Walter Pater dwells upon it. Professor Puech writes (p. xiv):

C'est un trait personnel de Marc-Aurèle que l'impression produite sur lui par l'ordre du monde soit aussi dépouillée de toute considération esthétique, qu'elle reste exclusivement intellectuelle et morale. Il n'y a rien chez lui de l'admiration hellénique pour les beautés du monde extérieur.

The passage emphasized by Pater is 3. 2. 1-3. I quote M. Trannoy's version:

... il n'est pas jusqu'aux circonstances accessoires des productions naturelles qui n'aient quelque chose de gracieux et d'engageant. Par exemple, le pain que l'on cuit se craquelle par endroits. Or les fentes ainsi formées, qui démentent, pour ainsi dire, ce que promettait l'art du boulanger, offrent un certain agrément et excitent l'appétit d'une manière toute spéciale. C'est ainsi encore que les figues bien mûres s'entrouvent et, dans les olives mûres qu'on laisse sur l'arbre, ce sont justement les approches de la pourriture qui donnent au fruit une beauté toute spéciale.

PAUL SHOREY

*The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer.* By GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1925.

A reasonable reviewer cannot overemphasize the fact that our gratitude to Professor Bolling for this invaluable collection of sifted material should far outweigh our dissent from his known but modestly suggested opinions on the "Homeric question." His book will be indispensable to critical students of the Homeric text and a great convenience to others. He has collected with indefatigable industry the evidence for interpolations after Aristarchus and what I would prefer to call the suggestions or possibilities of interpolation back to the "Peisistratean" text which he regards after Bethe as the one real object for our study. Nothing less than another volume would suffice for a critical examination of this immense detail and I can only say that wherever I have tested it I have found it accurate.

The logical assumptions on which the entire undertaking rests are another matter. It is as I have elsewhere said a question of the burden of proof. One may admit that our vulgate is not sacrosanct in every line and yet doubt whether modern scholarship has the evidence to restore the text of Aristarchus still less that of Peisistratus—not to speak of reconstructing the original composition or compilation of the two epics. Professor Bolling challenges Mr. Shewan on this issue of the burden of proof. His own assumption is that the burden of proof must lie upon him who wishes to include in the reconstruction lines "that we know were not included in all versions of the text." In practice this may mean lines that are inferred not to have been in some texts by inference from somebody's quotation or a remark of the scholiast or the

*disjecta membra* of uncritical papyri. This opens the door wide for a kind of logic that I always distrust, but haven't always the time or patience to put under the microscope. Professor Bolling himself admits that nothing can be inferred from Plato's remarks about the two names of Astyanax. But he spends a page on the subject which I would dismiss with the observation that if Plato, quoting from memory, did confuse or contaminate two passages of the *Iliad* he did no more than is done by an eminent modern scholar writing professedly and critically of the Homeric question. Professor Bolling omits *Odyssey* 3. 230-31 partly on the ground that 231 is not "necessary" and its meaning is uncertain. He then makes Athena's rebuke refer to a previous speech of Telemachus and proceeds to find in the passage thus interpreted a confirmation of the modern critic's fancy, a fancy that never would have found lodgment in the head of Horace, Aristotle, or Longinus, that "three-cornered conversation is difficult for the author's technique." But if we keep the impious οὐδὲ of 228 (cf. 9. 525) and retain lines 230-31 the thought of the passage is entirely natural, logical, and Greek, and Homer's technique is as good as Professor Quiller-Couch affirms it always to be.

But to continue in this carping vein would be to destroy the impression with which I began and with which I would close—sincere congratulations to Professor Bolling on a piece of work that is a credit to American scholarship.

PAUL SHOREY

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*Sulla Psicologia Gnoseologica degli Stoici. Estratto dall' "Athenaeum."*

By ADOLFO LEVI. Vol. III, Pavia: July, 1925.

There is space only to announce that this is a useful summary of the Stoic epistemological psychology with abundant citation but little quotation of the sources and the literature in the footnotes. Professor Levi emphasizes the latency of the "judgment" in *φαντασία* and other aspects of the mental unity, protests against the attribution of a purely "empirical" psychology to the Stoics, and tries to define more exactly the *λεκτόν* which is as elusive as "meaning" is in recent controversial English psychology.

PAUL SHOREY

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*Thirteen Epistles of Plato, Introduction, Translation and Notes.* By

L. A. POST. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925.

There is no lack of German and of Latin translations of the "Platonic" epistles. But this well-written, convenient little English version is a welcome supplement to Jowett. Professor Post is not always sure of his particles and the tone of Greek synonyms. But his renderings are on the whole substantially correct. "Secret nook" is not quite right in 312E; in 315E δὲ τὸ μένιν ἐν ἀκροπόλει is of course not "during my residence in the acropolis"; for 321D cf. *supra*, page 258; in 335D διὰ πάσης τῆς ἀρχῆς is not "throughout

his empire" but "during his reign"; in 340B "that the whole plan is possible (!)" etc. is a strange misapprehension of *ὅτι ἐστὶ πᾶν τὸ πρᾶγμα οἷόν τε καὶ δι' ὅσων πράγματων καὶ ὅσον πόνον ἔχει*. Either Howald or Apelt would have shown the true construction. This is not the place to discuss the really doubtful and difficult passages.

PAUL SHOREY

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*The Homeric Olympus*. By MYRON J. LUCH. Tulane University doctoral dissertation. Bethlehem, Pa., 1925.

There is no space here to examine critically an argument of 250 pages and if there were I am too complete a sceptic with regard to all Homeric inquiries to do it justice. The general conclusion I could accept with the reservation that I am not as sure as Professor Luch is that modern philological science definitely dates the *Odyssey* a century later than the *Iliad*. The Olympus question, however, contributes, he thinks, little or nothing to this result. Olympus in the *Iliad* is a mountain, but it is a literary mountain, an idealized, transfigured mountain virtually interchangeable with the sky. It is not clearly a mountain in the *Odyssey* and the whole matter is there treated more simply. But there is no difference in the theology in the two poems. The apparent differences result from the conscious burlesque of the older religion by the poet of the *Iliad*.

In reaching these conclusions Professor Luch gives a history of the entire discussion both in ancient and modern times which sometimes almost becomes a history of the Homeric question. He also tabulates and discusses all the occurrences of Olympus and Ouranos and their cognates in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Hymns*. He is to be thanked for publishing in these days of costly printing a dissertation which will be very useful to American students living at a distance from libraries. There are some misprints, but not more than are to be expected nowadays. The ample, but sometimes uneven, Bibliography includes some third-hand authorities, is a little overweighted with German books, and after the fashion of Americans ignores some critical American work. His style is flowing and readable, and though there are some arguments which do not convince me I find no such absurdities as swarm in most Homeric investigations.

PAUL SHOREY

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*Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian*. By AUBREY GWYNN. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1926. Price, \$3.50.

This readable essay published as a book by the Oxford Press is perhaps better written, but does not present more fruits of research than many a still-

born American doctoral dissertation buried among dusty unread pamphlets. The title sufficiently indicates the scope to those who know that education in antiquity meant the study of rhetoric except for the minority who chose the school of philosophy, and the reference on the jacket to "these uncharted intellectual seas" is a naïveté. Beginning with the conservatism, the rigid discipline, the *patria potestas* of the older Rome, and the contrast which a Polybius and a Plutarch felt between this Roman temper and the sometimes morally unsettling intellectualism of Greek education the author tells the familiar story of the introduction of Greek culture in Rome, and then devotes the main body of his book to an account of Cicero's *de oratore* and Quintilian. Between Cicero and Quintilian he interposes a chapter on "Reaction and Its Causes" by which he means mainly reaction against the cultural and literary standards of Cicero and a chapter on "The New Rhetoric" which deals with Ovid and the two Senecas with the usual anecdotes from the *Suasoriae* and *Controversiae* of the elder Seneca. The most instructive pages in the book are those which treat in chapter v of the closing of the schools of Latin rhetoric by Crassus, mentioned in the *de oratore*. As a matter of fact the edict was issued by Crassus and his colleague in the censorship. A fragment of a letter of Cicero preserved by Suetonius speaks of his boyish disappointment at not being allowed to study under the fashionable Latin rhetor Plotius. Mr. Gwynn says:

Cicero's fragment of autobiography appears in a new light when set in its social and political background.

That Plotius Gallus was forbidden to teach Latin rhetoric on political grounds seems plain enough. Crassus and Domitius were personal enemies, but they were both aristocrats and conservative in politics. Nor can the plea that a school of Latin rhetoric was a novelty have been more than a pretence.

PAUL SHOREY

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*The Ancient Rhetorical Theories of the Laughable.* By MARY A. GRANT. University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 21. Madison, 1924.

This is a serviceable assemblage of the material indicated by the title. It is not a study of ancient wit and humor. But the theories of Plato, Aristotle, the Coislianian treatise on comedy and Demetrius are supplemented by a discussion of the various comic genres. And similarly the exposition of Cicero's precepts is followed by his opinions about the mime, comedy, and satire. There is further a useful analysis of the terminology—*ridiculum*, *dicax*, *facetous*, *urbanus*, *εἰρωνεία*, *vitupero*, etc. Some two hundred notes supply references to the sources and there is a sufficient Bibliography and Index.

PAUL SHOREY

*Die Grenzen der Hellenistischen Staaten in Kleinasien.* By ERNST MEYER, PH.D. Zürich-Leipzig: Orell Füssli, 1925.

The contents of this work are as follows:

I. The Kingdoms of the Diadochi: (1) The Persian satrapies and their divisions under Alexander; (2) From Alexander's death to Triparadeisus; (3) The Kingdom of Antigonos; (4) Asia Minor from 301 to 281 B.C.

II. The States-System of the third century to the Peace of Apamea: (1) The Ptolemaic possessions on the Southern coast; (2) The continental possessions of Rhodes; (3) The Ptolemaic possessions in Western Caria, and Philip V. (4) The Ionian cities; (5) The Kingdom of Pergamum; (6) Bithynia and Heracleia; (7) Pontus and Cappadocia; (8) The Kingdoms of the Seleucids.

To these chapters the author adds (1) an appendix, (2) an excursus, (3) addenda and corrections, (4) indices, and (5) five maps entitled (a) The Rhodian Peraia, (b) Mycale and Environs in the Third Century B.C., (c) The Pergamene Kingdom before the Peace of Apamea, (d) The Peraia of Mytilene, and (e) The Pergamene Northeast Boundary since 183 B.C.

Dr. Meyer has chosen a dim and difficult subject. Our historical information concerning the third century B.C., as he remarks, is in general woefully scattered and incomplete; and this is perhaps more true of the geography of Asia Minor than that of any other land, for the violent wars of powers both great and small resulted in such numerous and rapid changes that from decade to decade the political map of the peninsula presents a different aspect.

The author has brought together in an attractive and logical order the appropriate data afforded by Greek and Roman literature, together with the illuminating evidence of numerous inscriptions. These latter he has gleaned at the expense of much time and with singular industry from the wide range of extant inscriptions, identifying them and making them serve his purpose in most scholarly fashion. One could wish for more than five maps, but unfortunately, owing to the high cost of map-making, the author was unable, he says, to furnish more.

Scholars interested in this field will welcome Dr. Meyer's painstaking work; and the present writer expects to find it helpful in numerous instances a little later, when, in his edition of Strabo, he must examine more critically the evidence pertaining to boundaries and historical incidents in Asia Minor.

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HORACE L. JONES

*Prolegomena to an Edition of the "Panegyricus Messalae": the Military and Political Career of M. Valerius Messala Corvinus.* Columbia dissertation. By JACOB HAMMER. Pp. ix+101. New York: Columbia University Press, 1925.

As stated in the Preface:

This monograph is the first part of a complete edition of the *Panegyricus Messalae*. . . . The edition will contain three more parts: II, The Literary Career of Messala; III, The Authorship of the *Panegyricus Messalae* and the Date of Its Composition; IV, Critical and Exegetical Commentary.

The monograph before us contains careful discussion of the various moot points regarding the life of Messala with full references to previous discussions. The work shows independence of judgment, and is very well done. It will prove of value, not merely to students of the history of the period of Octavianus and Antony, but also to students of Tibullus. Dr. Hammer discusses the evidence for Tibullus' participation in Messala's campaigns in Aquitania and in the East, and arrives at the conclusion that Tibullus did not accompany Messala. In three excursus Dr. Hammer argues that Messala did not marry Cicero's divorced wife, Terentia (as Jerome asserts), and contributes brief biographies of Messala's two sons, M. Valerius Messala Messalinus and M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus Messalinus.

DONALD MCFAYDEN

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*The Problem of Claudius; Some Aspects of a Character Study.* By THOMAS DECOURSEY RUTH. Johns Hopkins University Dissertation. Baltimore: Lord Baltimore Press, 1916. Pp. 138.

This is a very ably constructed dissertation which makes a distinct contribution to a well-worn theme. The character of the Emperor Claudius presents such a strange compound of abilities, virtues, eccentricities, and unworthy weaknesses that it has always engaged the interest of students. Mr. Ruth in this dissertation sets himself the task of interpreting Claudius in the light of modern medicine. In the nature of things, of course, a certain diagnosis is impossible. We have to rely upon witnesses who were not merely untrained observers, but who were for the most part prejudiced. Nevertheless, Mr. Ruth succeeds in drawing a striking parallel between the clinical picture presented by our combined sources and the observed phenomena of one form of infantile paralysis. He believes that Claudius was prematurely born. A paralysis incurred at birth would account for his physical peculiarities—his weak legs and peculiar gait, his trembling hands and head, his slobbering mouth, and thick speech; also for his recovery of health in later years, for this

form of infantile paralysis tends to be outgrown. Claudius' mental peculiarities cannot be accounted for, in Mr. Ruth's opinion, by any hypothesis of insanity, complete or even partial. His unquestionable intellectual ability and above all his power of concentration preclude such hypotheses. Rather his timidity, his nervousness, his general lack of self-control are to be explained by the brutalities to which he was subjected in early years. Mr. Ruth's contentions are more than plausible to the present writer, though how they would appeal to a psychiatrist he cannot tell. The dissertation lacks an index, and what is more important, perhaps, a bibliography.

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*Cicerone e i suoi Tempi.* By EMANUELE CIACERI. Vol. I: *dalla nascita al consolato*. Milano, 1926. Pp. xxxix+304. Lire 35.

This is the first volume of what promises to be a notable life of Cicero. The author has given careful attention to previous biographies—incidentally paying a high tribute to Petersson's recent work—"un libro che non si sa se debbasi lodare più per la chiarezza d'esposizione, che per la serena obbiettività di giudizio" (xxx). The author is perhaps a trifle overanxious to combat Mommsen's mordant view of Cicero's faults, and his references to German erudition are sometimes colored by the memory of the Great War; but, on the whole, the biographer has succeeded in giving to his narrative that quality of judicial impartiality which he himself so much admires in others.

The work is well documented, and the historical background is lavishly supplied. The style is simple but not without dignity and grace.

One cannot speak with certainty of the quality of a biography of Cicero which is only half complete. So far it is the account of the life of a successful advocate and statesman. We shall know better how to rank Signor Ciaceri as a biographer after we have seen how he conducts Cicero through those years of disappointment, disillusion, and defeat which followed the triumphant consulate.

LOUIS E. LORD

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*La Letteratura Latina anteriore all'Influenza Ellenica.* By ENRICO COCCHIA. Naples, 1924. 3 vols. Pp. x+264, lire 12; vii+197, lire 10; xi+397, lire 20.

These three volumes are at once a disappointment and a pleasure. The title leads the reader to expect a collection and a discussion of the fragments of early Latin. Quite the reverse is true. In fact, the first two volumes do not



deal with literature. The first is devoted to a discussion of the popular elements in Roman religion, notably in the cults of Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Diana Nemorensis, and Mars. The first chapter deals with the popular elements in the tradition of the sack of Rome by the Gauls, and the second with the possibility of the existence of an early Roman saga. Signor Cocchia inclines to believe that the historical element in the legends is much greater than Pais would concede. In this his view coincides with that of recent American writers.

Volume II is entirely devoted to a detailed examination of the legends of regal Rome—the "Rape of the Sabine Women," the "Battle of Lake Regillus," etc. The heroic and poetic elements in these legends are carefully analyzed.

After thus elaborately laying his foundations Signor Cocchia comes at last in Volume III to literature itself. But there is very little discussion of the actual *corpus* of early Latin literature. His method is to postulate the existence of a considerable body of such literature from the characteristics which these fragments possess in common with the popular poetry of other nations. The vestiges of popular poetry in later Latin literature are then examined (e.g., soldier songs, marriage hymns, etc.), and from them are deduced a hypothetical pre-Andronicene literature. The method is ingenious, the treatment fascinating, and the argument stimulating if not convincing.

LOUIS E. LORD

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*Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic.* By CHARLES SEARS BALDWIN. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924.

The innumerable epitomes, surveys, outlines, and handbooks with which the presses of Europe and America teem do not, strictly speaking, fall within the jurisdiction of *Classical Philology*. Yet the line is not sharply drawn and many of them are convenient for mature scholars as well as tiros. Professor Baldwin presents in compact compass as much of the rhetoric and poetic of the ancients as the ordinary student needs to know—analyses of the rhetoric of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, of the *Poetics* of Aristotle and the *Ars Poetica* of Horace with supplementary chapters that deal with the declaimers, with the poetic of drama and epic including a discussion of Virgil and Ovid, and with rhetoric in ancient criticism of poetics illustrated by miscellaneous quotations and extracts from Dio Chrysostomus and Plutarch and others. Some of our specialists might meditate with profit the wise observation (p. 4). "For learning to write the distinction between rhetoric and poetic is more directive than the distinction for instance of literary forms." There is a sensible defense of Cicero's style on page 39. The analytical index of the more common rhetorical terms adds to the usefulness of the book.

PAUL SHOREY

*Plato's Euthyphro, Apology of Socrates and Crito.* Edited with notes by JOHN BURNET. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Price \$2.85.

A commentary on Plato by Professor Burnet is sure to be good, and this one is replete with sound and helpful observations on Greek idiom and Platonic usage. [Cf. my review of his *Phaedo*, *Classical Philology*, VIII, 232.] Those who are unable to accept Professor Burnet's peculiar views of a Pythagorean Socrates, author of the greater part of the Platonic philosophy, can easily disregard the occasional straining of interpretation in support of this hypothesis. Professor Burnet corrects some errors of German and American scholars for which they will be grateful. But it is permissible to wonder why he overlooks the work of Heidel on the *Euthyphro* and of Bonner on the *Apology*, and why in four or five passages in which Jowett and Fowler coincide in what he deems error he always mentions Fowler and never alludes to Jowett. There will be other occasions for me to discuss the few specific points on which I differ from Professor Burnet, as e.g., *Apology* 27e, where all interpreters except one forgotten German have gone astray, the key being that τοῦ αὐτοῦ refers to different persons in the two clauses. In *Euthyphro* 9c his analysis of μὲν γὰρ against Adam is I think mistaken as he will perhaps agree after rereading Protagoras 337a-c.

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*Aristophanes, His Plays and His Influence.* By LOUIS E. LORD. "Our Debt to Greece and Rome Series." Boston: Marshall Jones and Company, 1925.

This brightly written booklet is not intended to be a work of research, but offers as much as was compatible with the limitations and design of this series. It is a useful introduction for the young student and an interesting survey for the general reader. The indispensable information about dramatic origins, scenic antiquities, the life and times of the poet, the structure and quality of the plays is presented in brief, but never dull résumé. This leaves about one hundred short pages for the "influence" divided into chapters on Greece and Rome, the Renaissance, Germany (perhaps a little overdone because of the accessibility of German monographs), France, England (somewhat skimmed).

Not in censure of Professor Lord, but as a suggestion for future consideration I may observe that "influence" would be more interesting to the modern reader if treated by topics rather than by enumeration of names that mean nothing to the layman and tell nothing to the scholar.

PAUL SHOREY

*Studia Tertulliana IV. De Tertulliani Apologetico bis edito.* By G. THÖRNELL. Uppsala: Lundequist, 1926. Pp. 154.

The constitution of the text of Tertullian's *Apologeticum* rests upon three several sources: (a) the general consensus of nearly all the extant MSS, establishing what is called the "Vulgate"; (b) two copies of a recension by Fr. Modius of a now long lost Fulda MS; (c) for chapters 38-40.2, a MS from Rheinau, now in the Zürich library. Almost all possible theories have been advanced concerning the origin of these three recensions. Mr. Thörnell's is that some Christian friend of Tertullian got hold of a copy of the *Apologeticum* before the author had polished it up, and this thief published the treatise either without Tertullian's knowledge or against his will. This surreptitious publication is the source of the Fulda text. Tertullian proceeded with the careful revision of his primary draft, and finally issued it as the one authentic edition. This is the source of the Vulgate text. A similar act of thievery was perpetrated in the case of the tract *aduersus Marcionem*, and Tertullian complained of it in his preface to that work. He did not act in similar fashion with regard to the *Apologeticum* because that treatise was for the eyes of the heathen, and it would be inadvisable to display before them the fraud of one Christian against another.—The Rheinau fragment was a provisional sketch by Tertullian himself of the chapters concerned. This he afterward discarded, or worked its matter into the appropriate parts of his discourse elsewhere in the finished treatise. But the thief purloined this fragment also, and, misunderstanding its nature, inserted it into his illegitimate text where he thought it best fitted; hence its preservation in the context of the Fulda tradition, and not of the Vulgate.

E. T. M.

*Sprachlicher Bedeutungswandel bei Tertullian.* By W. J. TEEUWEN. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1926. Pp. xvi+147, 8vo.

An extremely interesting and valuable study of Tertullian's Latin, which the author insists should be called Christian Latin, but should not be treated as identical with Church Latin. Tertullian's Latin is neither literary Latin nor popular Latin, but a mixture of both, with the additions and modifications due to the new Christian ideas. These brought in both new words, some of them borrowings from the Greek-Christian vocabulary, others new formations from already established (and Christianized) Latin words, and especially changes in the meaning of old words in a Christian direction. Tertullian's variety of Christian Latin is affected also by his bringing up in an official's family, by his early legal training, and by his change from Catholicism to Montanism. The index to the many words examined severally by Dr. Teeuwen fills eleven pages of fine print.

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